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COVER PHOTO: JAMES HAMILTON/REUTERS; PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES HAMILTON/REUTERS



IN TIMES OF CHANGE and upheaval around the world, Maclean's readers demand more

Making sense of challenging times

The final stanza of 2008 was probably the most eventful and challenging few months that most Canadians have ever experienced. We lived through two general elections: one in Canada, one in the United States. We faced a constitutional crisis unique in the past 50 years. The global credit meltdown drew comparisons to the Great Depression. Home prices fell significantly. The North American oil industry teetered on the verge of bankruptcy and will likely never be the same again. India suffered a stunning terrorist attack. And the Middle East exploded once more.

Dramatic changes and upheavals of this sort produce a variety of responses. One of the most commendable is a desire to be informed. People naturally want to make sense of the world around them, and to do this they turn to news sources they trust. We know this because numerous sales of Maclean's have recently reached levels not seen since we went to weekly publication three decades ago.

As Canada's oldest and most distinguished current affairs magazine, Maclean's is proud to be such a trusted source of information and opinion for Canadian readers. Since our relaunch 14 years ago, we have been writing more chapters in our long history. We placed new emphasis on national, international and business news. We assembled the best collection of columnists and commentators in the country—including Andrew Coyne, Paul Wells, Barbara Amiel, Mark Steyn, Scott Fockink and many more. And we set our reporters out in search of the country's most important stories.

This commitment explains why Maclean's

readers saw the cover story "Canada's Looming Real Estate Crisis" just weeks before the real estate market spiraled dramatic price drops this past October. Our comprehensive reader's coverage of the Canadian election was unmatched anywhere. In March, our "Most Dangerous Cities in Canada" special report had major and newspapers across the country talking. Our annual University Rankings issue is still a must-have for university students and their families. And last year we took centre stage to lead a national debate over five issues that led to credible and informed human rights conversations.

The current issue you are holding continues this promise of reporting excellence. Michael Francollanti's investigation into the Bin Laden federal sex crimes inquiry ("Producers and Loose," page 29) follows up his report from last year that ignited concerns at the highest levels of government. Paul Wells tells you how to get ready for the upcoming season of *Puffblower*. "When justice is too expensive" by Kate Lunn (page 32) marks the first of five instalments on the crisis in Canada's legal system we'll be presenting this year. There's a great on our country's newest sports phenoms, John Tavares, and a fascinating read about the Canadian connection to the fight against the pirates of Somalia. And, of course, we aren't ignoring the pressing issues at home—such as the bitter debate over the proper way to lead a dishwasher.

Maclean's is dedicated to making sure its readers are informed, entertained and ready to understand the world they live in. With 2009 looking to be every bit as hectic and complicated as its predecessor, we expect to be very busy. Stay in and read on. ■

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ARTISTS: MICHAEL LEPPERS; PHOTOGRAPH: ROBERT GARDNER; BEANUTY JOURNALISM

'Placing Sarah Palin beside dictators, thugs and criminals was mean-spirited and petty'

THE GOOD, BAD AND UGLY

I **SINCERELY** ENJOYED your 2008 Newsweek issue (Dec. 22). It was a comprehensive, often humorous review of the year's noteworthy events. I did notice one unfortunate error: In the "Finally" section, you state that Henry Margolis received the Order of Canada. Shouldn't this name be categorized under "Oops"?

Nancy Hastings, Barrie, Ont.

ENOUGH with the Newsmakers and The Year in Pictures (Jan. 5) trips! We know who the newsmakers are, and who would make up the best seasonal news; we've been reading all year! Better still, MacLachlan should stop the mad rush of year hype and hero worship, and stick to the journalistic excellence we receive the other 11 months of the year.

Chris Peters, St. Catharines, Ont.

YOUR CAPTION WRITERS *Issues are changing.* You might tell them that U.S. VP Dick Cheney does not slash it ("Baggage Gallery"), Prince Philip most certainly does not scowl ("Royals are just like us"), and an Alaska state person not heart investigation found Sarah Palin not guilty of any wrongdoing ("Baggage gallery").
John R. McInerney, Kelowna, B.C.

I WAS SURPRISED and irritated by the shockingly misinformed comments about Sarah Palin. There was plenty of research done and aimed on the subject of the alleged \$450,000 worth of clothes, about which Palin was not considered, and it is not a scandal that she mispronounced any critical positions regarding the firing of her ex brother-in-law. Thanked of CBC, agreed a drive, rubbish is not what I expect from Markovits.

FW: Charlotte, Cape Breton Island, N.S.

YOU FOCUS the most unflattering pictures of John McCain, you portrayed Palin as a gun-slinging racist and you presented Pat's imprisonment from *Toy Story* to the mark of "Warner," while glossing over Obama's flaws, his lack of experience or his dangerous mentors and associates ("Newsmaker of the year"). In your *Year in Pictures* issue, you did it again, picking a very demeaning shot of McCain walking behind a distraught, teardrop-looking Obama. Don't you have a shred of respect for the defeated candidate?

Dr. Nicole Zyzanski, Washington, DC

KITTY BARKER LUTHER broke new ground as a woman, as a conservative, and as a Republican vice-presidential candidate. Regardless of how Mackenzie Mears' about-face personality the magazine's decision to place her in its "Rogues Gallery" beside dictators, thugs and criminals was mean spirited and petty. To add insult to injury, poor editorial technique ("The End") omitted conservative intellectual giant William F. Buckley, while merely utilizing many far lesser lights. The ideological bias of any editors led to judgments that reflect badly on the magazine as a whole. Mark Goldstein, Montclair, Ore.

The image shows the cover of the November 2008 issue of Maclean's magazine. The cover features a collage of faces, with Barack Obama's face prominently in the center. The title 'MACLEAN'S' is at the top in large, bold, white letters on a red background. Below the title, the text 'NEWSMAKERS '08' is written in a stylized font. The overall design is vibrant and celebratory, reflecting the political climate of the time.

It's GLAD to see that Madras's recognized four decorated soldiers in the "Class Action" section. But if the Star of Military Valour was the award presented, then a picture of it, and not the Victoria Cross, should have been placed between the Governor General and Maj. David Quirk.

Bruce Shaw, Duncan, P.C.

PROFESSOR HADZIMISER, the Serbian news writer who was sued by Monsanto, didn't deserve 15 seconds of fame, let alone 15 minutes—yet you earned him a “Class Act” in your Newsweek issue. I am proud to be involved in Canadian agriculture despite people like Schmeiser, not because of them. Trying to change something you disagree with should not include lying or throwing your own ink on the window, if you ever had any. Please don't find someone who takes the law road to get where he's going, when there are so

many honest, hard working people in agriculture who deserve credit and recognition for their efforts.

Joanne Falk *Coeditor, Oct*

YOU CLAIM Fidel Castro had "50 years in the top job" ("Date"). Not true. For the first decade and a half of the revolution, Castro was prime minister under President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado. Only in 1976 did he get the "top job." Castro, of course, was in command all that time but he was nominally number one for quite a bit less than half a century. *Maxwell D. Etkin, New York, Ohio*

I WAS INITIALLY delighted to see *Amadeus*'s reporting on the royalists in the Newmarket issue ("Royals are just like us!"), I was then shocked to see the writers could do nothing but throw rude insults at the royal family. From saying Her Majesty dresses like a toad to saying Camilla looks like a horse, it was a shameful display of disrespect to people who give us all hopes of a royal future to serve the people through various acts of kindness and generosity.

JOE B.W. JONES, Grand Prairie, Alta.

BITTERWET RECESSION?
AMERICA COULD'S description of the present economic decline as a natural "bitter" affliction is a misleadingly "Never let a good economic crisis go to waste," *Christianity Today*. [5] The "bitter" was engendered by halfhearted prosecution and frauds the thousands of the one per cent in the U.S. who, in 2000, owned more than twice that of the bottom 10 per cent; those very individuals are now looking for a public bailout. Depicting this situation as an opportunity to make thousands of amounts to pointing out in the words of ordinary people who maintain the belief. It is comparable to portraying the loss of legs as an opportunity to learn to walk on hands, or to suggesting that blindness requires tactile and olfactory research. It is no consolation at all.

Doris Wessely Fisher, R. Allen Allen

COYNE WAS quite right in suggesting that football policies need to be done away with to help right the ship. Few born during or after the baby boom recognize the real cause of the fall is a collapse of criticism among West coast readers. Right wing analysts will pay very little to level the playing field and allow ci-

needs to be helped to the same minimum standard of life, and yet they once chose

where and to whom that need only to get us out of the way beyond their means. The rewards in life are to be granted to those who have earned them through hard work, and not to the fortunate. Left-wing policies, while impressive, at least try to establish the equal footing of food, shelter, health and education, the solid ground from which to cross can spring forth. Right wing policies have served primarily to grant luxuries to those who have not earned them, while doing little to prepare Canadians to work hard and earn those luxuries as they should.

Andrew Auer, Dufferin, Waterloo, Ont

JUST BECAUSE MEAT, eggs or dairy products are certified as kosher doesn't necessarily mean that they are healthier, greener or more ethically produced ("Why food across our area's kosher?," *Business*, Dec. 25). In fact, Agriprocessors—the world's largest kosher slaughterhouse and the subject of the biggest contamination raid in U.S. history—recently filed for bankruptcy after years of scandal, including the exploitation of workers, criminal sexual violations, food recalls, animal abuse and health and safety issues. Kosher's underdog status is a consequence of kosher members in Agriprocessors illegally hacking out the chickens of fully certified kosher.

Philip Solomon, Senior Researcher, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Norfolk, Va.

YOUR ARTICLE on the increasing prevalence of fender products and those ubiquitous little symbols got me more than a little curious. As manufacturers of all kinds fall all over themselves to be blessed with certification

the owner starts to look as awful for his new kind of rabbinical case out in lamb's clothing. Perrier water, fat hangers' sales? Give me a break. What's next, kosher clothes? Are robes? Magazines? I smell a rat, and it's a kosher... yet.

Graham Wye, Gibson, & Co.

FAMILY TIES
YOU REMIND Caroline Kennedy's memoirs ring for Hillary Clinton's vacant Senate seat as she represents a "political dynasty" (Seven Days, Jan. 3). In the last three out of four issues you have featured Justin Trudeau in your Capital Diary page. Are you attempting to promote a Trudeau dynasty?
Diane Johnston, Ottawa

I LOOK To you for balance and unbiased reporting and have never been disappointed except very rarely when photographs or articles about Justin Trudeau began appearing nearly every week—twice in the Dec. 3 issue (Letters, Capital Diary). I suspect the Marliners are misapprehending or overlooking the fact that he is a legitimate news item when he is simply not—not yet in any way. He is his father's son, nothing more, and I have to confess in life and in the hands of a silver platter by Marliners' *Leah Bonham*, Victoria.

HOLLER FOR SCHOLARS

IN NOVEMBER'S University Rankings of 2008, Brian Eighane wrote that "Woods recently adjusted its program to end the offer of scholarships to the 80 to 85 percent group." ("Where's my scholarship?" Nov. 24) I further quoted me as saying that "most" of those students were unable to meet the reasonable grade point average requirements. This change, however, was limited to students enrolled in our Outstanding Scholars

program, which provides a four-year award that includes a renewable scholarship and a paid opportunity to work directly with faculty members on research-related activities. Approximately 100 students in the 50 to 150 student group did not receive state support and are forced to leave their home schools. Students with an offer to join graduate programs are committed to leaving our college scholarship. In fact, approximately two thirds of first-year students at the University of Windsor receive scholarships. The University of Windsor remains committed to recognizing the talent of our incoming students with a strong scholarship program. We also continue to remain committed to providing further needs-based financial assistance to those in need of assistance during their college years.

Dr. Clayton Smith, Vice-President, Students & Registrar, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ont.

Fiction		
1	THROUGH BLACK SPRING by Stephen King	1 071
2	2001 by Roberto Bolaño	8 000
3	THE FRENCH PATENT by Joe Hill	6 030
4	THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES by John Burt Foster	8 019
5	COVERTURE by Michael Chabon	4 077
6	A MOST WANTED MAN by John Lescar	3 038
7	A WINTER OF MICE by Kate Morton	10 128
8	THE FLYING THROATRAILS by Michael Ondaatje	6 075
9	NATION by Tompkins	10 000
10	THE GIRL WITH THE DRAGON by Lisa Thompson	7 040

Non-Fiction	
1 THE ASCENT OF MONEY by David Graeber	7 (D)
2 CHAMPLAIN'S DREAM by David Hackett Fischer	2 (H)
3 OUTLIERS by Malcolm Gladwell	4 (H)
4 PARADISE by Michael Lewis	4 (D)
5 THE AMERICAN FUTURE by James Scheuer	7 (D)
6 EZZY by Peter C. Schanzer	4 (H)
7 A HARK OUTCRY by John Sutherland Boyd	2 (H)
8 CLIMATE WARS by Guyanette Dyer	4 (H)
9 REPERCUSSIVE GRAVITY by John Mottishaw	4 (H)
10 IN THE SPIRIT OF HYMEL by Michaela Pomeroy	4 (H)

LAST WEEK'S DRIVEN ON LIFE

COALITION CONFESSIONS

WHEN I READ the cover headline "7 Days That Shook The Nation" (Dec. 29), I had to try not to burst out with laughter. These ideologues might lose gas people in Ottawa all day and all night, but a created nothing but a mess and no one knows how to fix it. The only reason I haven't been along the lines of "these idiots are at it again" is when the alleged politicians in Ottawa stop showing their layout of their

national unity. These three party leaders managed to overcome large differences to arrive at an agreement that they envisioned as workable. If the polls are accurate, and Canadians fear the three party majority over a one-party majority, that heaven help us as we move into an era that needs real and not just responses to economic, environmental and international current events.

Carol Mackay, Canine, B.C.



IF CANADIANS fear a three-party majority over a one-party majority, that heaven help us!

print and act like grown-ups, perhaps they will earn the respect of the electorate.

Bob Walker, Victoria

TO PARAPHRASE a political commentator from your magazine of days past, thank you for "the fixturing, the modification" of the past week's events. I find it a scandal that the nation's "National" (Dec. 29) article was an excellent summary, both confirming a number of the assumptions I'd made and providing new information that I hadn't considered. A fascinating read!

Ernest Lamb, Toronto

BUDOS TO Andrew Coyne and his meek and well-expressed attitude on the "coalition allies" and their supporters. A political force of their own making. National (Dec. 29) He seems to be the only column pundit to get Layton, Duceppe and the blunderer Dean had no desire to do anything for Canada. It was simply an end power grab when what the country needed most was stability and a steady hand and head at the helm—something that none of the three parties has.

Wern Bayko, Kelowna, B.C.

UNDERBUSHING a photo of Dean, Layton and Duceppe having just signed their coalition agreement, you wrote, "Gone is the Liberals' identity as the party of national unity." Yet we have never seen a more potent image of

STEPHEN HARPER promotes a new Parliama two weeks after it begins, and Andrew Coyne spends 10 pages denouncing him. Coyne should become Harper's finance minister after Jim Flaherty gets the boot. This way Coyne can stop defending Conservative policy and instead begin to write a Queen's speech. Paul Wells is completely right: "Parliament is chaos—just how Harper likes it." National (Dec. 29), and Coyne is completely paranoid.

Colin Cunningham, Port Dover, Ont.

IN YOUR Dec. 29 editorial ("Why Canadians rejected the coalition," From the Editors, Dec. 29), you wrote that the Bloc would have been given "the whip hand in government." In fact, the Bloc would exercise the same balance of power it has had since 2006. This is the same balance of power that has often benefited the Conservative party, as evidenced by a Conservative press release boasting about consistent Bloc support during House votes. In suggesting that the Bloc's support of coalition legislation is in some way different than the Bloc using its balance of power to support Conservative legislation, you are contributing to the dual state of our country's understanding of the parliamentary system. Furthermore, the latest Ipsos Reid poll puts the Liberals at 32 per cent for the Conservatives 16 per cent in Quebec. There is widespread con-

fusion that Harper's overconfidence in his position has led to his fortunes have plummeted in the province. In other words, the exact opposite of your interpretation, which I must say reads of intellectual laziness when considering your usually high standards.

Patricia Zampetti, Montreal

IF CANADIANS indeed did "reject the coalition," in your editorial states, it was in large part because they realized that Harper's proposals, while not inflammatory, threatened, that the proposed coalition was an "anti-democratic" accord between "socialists" and "separatists" bent on breaking up the country. The proposed coalition agreed to do no such thing, as you and Harper well know. It was a fair deal, which is why it was the only one and acceptable solution, that put Canada's unity as a country at risk. He manifested a crisis to save his political skin.

P.J. Robertson, Monrovia, Ont.

YOUR EDITORIAL on perspective: In the first place, we were not given an opportunity to either accept or reject the coalition. A mere upstaging would have been, "We think that the majority of Canadians would have rejected a coalition."

P.S. Barr, Jones Island, B.C.

MY THANKS TO Maclean's for a great article that was unbiased and filled with all those black spaces that arose in my mind during these seven days and after.

Richard P. Zindler, Perth, Ont.

THOSE WHO read the "7 Days That Shook The Nation," they were the "7 Days That The Nation Shook In Head."

Norm Finkenz, North Saanich, B.C.

IN PASSING

Helen Swanson, 91, human rights activist. Ruth elected to the South African Parliament in 1995, she was, at first, a lone voice calling for an end to apartheid. Throughout the years the defiance made him to Robert Lauder political prize Swanson received the Nobel Peace Prize for her work.

Ann Savage, 87, actress. An otherwise illustrious career in B movies changed with the making of 1947's *Devotee*, a low-budget film that she decided later became a cult classic. Savage's portrayal of a madcap hitchhiker inspired a new generation of filmmakers, including Guy Maddin, who cast her as his mother in his documentary-drama, *My Winnipeg*.

MACLEANS.CA

This week on the Web

Tough times

The economic downturn has put a period in our publishing's life. But are all these recession tips worth reading? We investigate.

PLUS: An important history lesson on living in a recession.



BLOG CENTRAL

INFLUX WELLS
For this moment, Michael Ignatieff looks like a Butler-Katzen in the end. While the House collapses around him, something will happen soon.

maclean.ca/wells

BEYOND THE COMMONS
For the recent, emboldened, contrary to expectations, the 19th year of the world's history.

maclean.ca/wells

JOHN PARSELLA
"Black Obama must change the discourse in the Middle East and elsewhere."

maclean.ca/parrella

TV GUIDANCE
The producers of *Living with the Enemy* have come up with a new twist on the "not women" film to get her straightened out.

maclean.ca/parrella

VANCOUVER 2010

Get all your Olympic news and go to our new site at the opening ceremonies at the Vancouver 2010.

WEB POLL RESULTS

How optimistic are you that the economy will turn around in 2009?



THIS WEEK'S POLL maclean.ca/poll

SAVAGE IN WASHINGTON

As the world awaits the results of the 2009 election, the results of the 2009 election are in.

PHOTO GALLERY



Week in pictures

Check out the best photos taken in the last seven days from around the world.

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A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF RACHIDA DATI

On Friday, the glaucous French prince on their game tried to baby daughter. A few hours later, minutes was back at work—and defusing questions about Zhen's registry dad. Speculation surrounding the anonymous father is so intense that some potential candidates have been forced to publicly deny the whispers. The latest rumormongers in François Sarkozy, the prince's younger brother, who was spotted Sunday night outside the Paris clinic where Zhen was born.

Good news

Gold in bold

"We educate hockey players," said Swedish coach Pat Morris. "You produce winners." Perhaps the subject of this remark (that Canada wins on ice, not skill, because there is no better explanation of why this country boasts five straight world-champion hockey titles). The Swedish side, with an star-deficient Victor Hedman, were odds-on favorites. But in their 1-1 gold medal win, Canada showed every bit as much skill and twice the composure of their vaunted opponents, who left the ice screaming and screaming. So thanks, Pat Morris, for the win.

Setting an example

Fifteen years have passed, but Canada's military has been given the chance to prove it took the regrettable lessons of the Somali to heart. Placed with another suspicious death—this time in Afghanistan—the Canadian Forces National Incident Response has acted swiftly and openly, taking just a week to investigate and charge Capt Robert Semrau with second-degree murder in the October killing of a suspected Afghan insurgent. Capt Semrau deserves a fair trial and due process, and will get both. The public is owed an explanation of the two-month delay between the alleged incident and the probe, but suggestions of a cover-up are clearly misplaced. So far, the process is working. The world, and the people of Afghanistan, will be watching.

Buy new pants

The premed New Year's resolution to shed a few extra pounds may actually end up turning your short-term health. Research

on at Michigan State University found that diets make it harder for the body to shed the fat stores because the calorie restriction appears to inhibit the production of antibodies. In addition, the more they studied got fatter, lost more weight and took longer to recover than men doing modest. Their advice is to delay jumping over a new leaf until the end of cold and flu season, only this spring. A perfect excuse to eat and drink away the dark winter and be healthy later.

FACE OF THE WEEK



YOU DON'T LOOK a day over 30, at the 50th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, President Raúl Castro measures his success.

A friend indeed

Eager to help a close friend with cancer, Matthew Hyman, 10, is paying the stress with money. The Grade 5 student has vowed to collect a \$10,000, enough loan to stretch education between his friends. He is elementary school and the house of Mackenzie Carr, a classmate. Carr, 10, has a rare form of ovarian cancer, and has been away from school since October. The money will be used for small comforts, like a new iPod, and to allow Carr's mother to take a time off work to care for her daughter. So far Hyman has raised \$10,000.

Bad news

The need for limits

The NHL's schedule in February, on skidney. For off-ice seasons, without being off-ice, NHL C is considering penalties for doing out of bounds. The NHL has more. There have been 30 avalanche deaths in B.C. this winter—eight registered avalanche deaths from snowed in unpopulated backcountry, and two men killed on closed runs in separate slides in Whistler and Blackcomb. These deaths didn't deter four men from a married, high-risk area.

one wonder if Vancouver should host the Winter Games in 2010.

Mr. Bismouth

Ontario members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the body that represents most university workers in the province, are proposing that campuses ban lunch academics from "speaking, teaching or research" if they do not explicitly condemn Israel's actions in Gaza. Not exactly in keeping with the ideal of free and open academic debate, but protesters don't have to make sense. Where CUPE lives in—most of Canada—is when an Ontario president led Ryan compares Israel's actions on Hamas to the Nazis. For the record, Europe's Jews weren't arrested nearly 60 years after the Holocaust. Ryan has a long history of speaking without thinking, but even he would be a better man. His next would be better spent helping to settle the dispute between his union and York University, which has large student strikes out of class for two months.

A two-cold war

Baron started the new year in the same spirit of belligerence as the past one. A natural gas price dispute with Ukraine saw President Viktor Yanukovich turn off the taps, causing supply problems not just for his neighbors, but much of central and south-eastern Europe. It's part of a worrying pattern that includes a massive warning of missile deployment against Poland, the construction of troops near Georgia, and military buildup close to former Soviet republic in Central Asia. The Russian line is bleak. How to evade it is a global problem.

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MICHEL RAPHAEL ON THE HERITAGE MINISTER'S FAVE SONG PICK, AND STEVEN FLETCHER AND HIS DAD

THE SURPRISE HOT PARTY

Michael Ignatieff was supposed to have had his holiday bash in the party room of his downtown Toronto condo, but then he became interim Liberal leader and almost overnight the party became a party. The venue was changed to the hip Toronto club C Lounge, where a large crowd gathered before the doors even opened. The place was full in minutes. One security person said he had never seen the club as packed—even at big celebrity parties. (C Lounge's wall of fame includes pictures of star patrons such as Jamie Foxx, Samuel L. Jackson and rapper LL Cool J.) MP Ruby Dhalla told *Capital Daily* that in her many years at the Greens she had never attended a leader's event at such a cool venue. At the party, Ignatieff called out the need for external party discipline if the Liberals are to succeed. This prompted MP Candice Bergen to recall a story about Joan Chen. When the article inquired if she was a GB supporter, one of the other leaders who was present over a minority government listened to him how tough it was to keep things together in his country. Quipped Chen: "You've never run the Liberal party."



OTTAWA LOVE STORY

NDP MP Megan Leslie says she's getting used to being "stuck up" when she's back in her Halifax riding. That's because the 35-year-old replaced a local legend, retired MP and former NDP leader Alexa McDonough. Leslie was hired in as McDonough's assistant. Back in 2007, Leslie's perfect, Brooklyn-style, was accepted into a Ph.D. program at Carleton University in Ottawa. She also had to defer for a year to the cold-kill working at the Dalhousie Legal Aid Service, and he did. A year later

MICHAEL IGNATIEFF (top left), Steven, David Fletcher (top right), Megan Leslie (below right), and Christian (middle, left), James A. Moore (below, left), (bottom) Ruby Dhalla (left), Alexa McDonough

when they were set to leave for Ottawa, McDonough offered her a job. Leslie gave up her lease and, then in the next goodbye to the moving truck, she was moved going to stay and fight for the nomination to replace McDonough. All she had left of her wardrobe in Halifax were flip-flops, a few dresses and a bathing suit. She coughed, borrowed clothes—and won the election. Now things

have worked out perfectly for her and her partner "When I go back to Halifax, he stays in Ottawa. I love to do the work weekend to Halifax. And when I come back home a day at the House of Commons I go to my apartment and dinner is ready."

'WE'D BOTH CRY'

Worship Conservative MP Steven Fletcher's father learned a lot about his son in a new job.

"Steven [who is a quadriplegic] did not tell us all of the difficulty he had in the hospital trying to say 'dies,'" says David Fletcher. But he said his son always says "Survive the hospital and everything else is gravy." The MP's biography, *What Do You Do If You Don't Die?*, was written by Linda McDonald, who served in the Manitoba culture and heritage ministry. Gary Filmon in the '90s. He had never met Fletcher before he became a quadriplegic after his vehicle hit a house in 1994 and only knew him by reputation as a champion legislator. She became his political mentor. Working with him on the book brought back memories for Fletcher, including several thoughts he had on his mind. He said: "The world says, 'I have never said something about this before.' Then we'd both cry. Then we'd say, 'Let's start again tomorrow.'" She watched the book-writing process allowed him to deal with his situation. At first, Fletcher allowed only head-and-shoulder photos so people wouldn't see his wheelchair. Then he became more comfortable with the chair being part of him. "Those were big steps for acceptance."

BARACK, BUSTNEY AND BUBLE

With the public's help, CBC Radio 2 is compiling a list of 49 Canadian songs for Barack Obama to know his way to Canada. Harpist Minister James Moore told CBC his choice is *How* by Michael Buble. Moore's own collection includes quality rock and roll songs. Says Moore: "That's because he used to be involved with his former girlfriend."

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa stories or to contact Michael Buble, visit michaelbuble.ca/ or radio2.ca/

Ignatieff is a registered Liberal member and David Fletcher is a registered Conservative member. The photo of Steven Fletcher is a registered Conservative member. The photo of Steven Fletcher is a registered Conservative member. The photo of Steven Fletcher is a registered Conservative member.

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Too far? Sorry, the Tories did not go far enough.



ANDREW
COYNE

Where were we? As yet, the amendment to the *Electoral Financing Act* (EFA) on the Hill, from any votes (how long ago it seems now), before everyone had been coached to say it was about the economy, was the Conservatives' attempt to remove or at least reduce public funding for political parties.

This was, depending on your point of view, either an existential threat to the opposition parties that left them no option but to over-throw the government, or the gesture for a long-planned scheme to disavow. But all agreed that it was a massive blunder on the Tories' part: a diversion in a time of economic crisis, a destabilizing influence in an already turbulent monetary Parliament, even an assault on democracy itself.

With the passage of time and the cooling of heads, it may be possible to assess this move more rationally. Whatever the Tories' partisan motivations for introducing the measure, there was never anything wrong in principle with the idea that political parties should depend a little less on the taxpayer, and a little more on their own supporters—especially at a time of economic crisis, when others are having to make do with less, or indeed with nothing at all. The notion that the parties could continue to feed directly off the public treasury, while about them companies are failing and people are being thrown out of work, is one that could be sustained only inside the Ottawa bubble.

If anything, the Conservatives did not go far enough. While it is a fair criticism that they should have given the opposition parties more notice, to allow them time to adjust, it is also true that the \$1.59 per vote subsidy they proposed to remove is only one of at least three means by which the political parties avoid the burden of public funds. There is also the tax credit for political contributions, as high as 75 per cent—charitable

donations of such amounts—as well as the reimbursement for election expenses—50 per cent for parties, 66 per cent for candidates.

All told, in a typical election year the public will be hit up for roughly \$50 million. If the principle is that people should contribute to political parties on their own dime, and that parties should have to appeal to willing donors rather than constrict the taxpayer, it would be more consistent to scrap the lot, rather than cherry-pick the per vote subsidy.

But never mind—it's a start. And, as the Prime Minister makes clear in this week's



The two greatest forces of instability in our Parliament rely on the per-vote subsidy

In last week's interview (p. 24), the issue is not going to go away. The Tories will fight the next campaign on it, and they will be right to do so. Though it tends to be mentioned only in passing, it is not a trivial point that the Tories are the largest beneficiary of the subsidy they propose to dismantle. While it is true that the other parties are proportionately more dependent on the subsidy than the Conservatives, that is a comment not on how much subsidy they receive but on how little private money they raise.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of this situation, one thing should be true: by disavowing the subsidy, far from destabilizing Canadian politics, we would do much to restore it to something resembling working order. There are two great sources of instability in the present Parliament: the weakness of the Liberal party, and the strength of the Bloc.

The first accepts other parties into adversarial, as we use it in the field, each calculating that the Liberals could be ready to swallow anything rather than face an election. The second makes majority governments all but impossible—and also coalition governments, since none can be formed without the Bloc and, given the public's hostility to the idea, none will be formed without it. Both, Liberal weakness and Bloc strength, are intimately connected with public subsidy.

The Liberals have never, in the more than five years since the Chrétien reforms, adhered to the modern art of campaign finance, and any attempt to cultivate a mass constituency of small donors, such as the Tories and (to a lesser extent) the NDP have done. Prior to the reforms they had depended on corporates and Conservatives then they have depended on the state. But would they establish a donor base—could they be able to generate enough enthusiasm to persuade a large number of people to part with small sums of money—they will have little prospect of developing a wider following among the public. And so long as they can count on the subsidy, they will have little incentive to do so.

But if subsidization has kept the Liberals weak, this strengthened the Bloc. For when it came to finance a national campaign in the 2006 election, the Bloc can concentrate its efforts on voters in a single province. Indeed,

it hardly bothers to raise funds on its own. In 2006, the party had paid to the roughly 300,000 people who contributed to the federal Conservatives. From 2000 to 2008, it averaged nearly \$6 in direct public funding (not counting tax credits) for every dollar in individual donations. (I am indebted to Mark Miller at the Fraser Institute for these figures.)

Surely that true: no party is more dependent on the generosity of the Canadian taxpayer than the party dedicated to the country's destruction. No party benefits more from this assistance, to each destabilizing effect. It is desirable generally to win the games off of public funds, but in the case of the Bloc it is truly essential. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at macleans.ca/andrewcoyne

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Smart investing in today's markets.



Now, more than ever, it's important to stay focused on your financial goals. Market downturns will occur from time to time but don't let the headlines derail your long-term investment plans. Get professional investment advice, create a plan, stick to it – and you will be well positioned for future growth.

Investing in 2009

IT'S JANUARY. Two weeks into the New Year. How's it going with that New Year's Resolution about having an investment plan and sticking to it? Creating a clear investment plan with an advisor can help you turn today's downturn into an opportunity.

Experienced investors know that it's important to stay the course in investment plans – especially when the business cycle changes. Good investment advice is designed especially for times like these.

"Good advice will carry you through good times and bad," says Steve Geist, President, CIBC Asset Management. "A well devised investment plan is 'all weather' and will guide you through the highs and lows and put you in position to benefit as a recovery takes hold." ▶

While good advice may not give you immunity from marketplace fluctuations, it should give you long-term focus, comfort, and guidance. That's important because, while bear markets and bull markets are to be expected, extremes at the peaks and troughs are driven by emotions.

"A seasoned investor sees declines in the market as an opportunity to buy low and add to their portfolio rather than the time to sell off, run and hide," says Geist.

One of the basic principles of investing is not to let emotions rule your investment decisions and run your long-term position. And the way to make sure that your decisions are based on reality and rational thinking is to seek professional investment advice from a trusted source.

WORK WITH AN ADVISOR

"By working with an advisor, you take emotion out of your investment decisions," says Geist. "The right advisor can help you get to know yourself better as an investor, define your goals, guide you toward proper asset allocation and create a long-term plan. But above all, an advisor will help you to maintain rational investment discipline by sticking to your plan when your emotions may be pushing you in a different direction."

With the knowledge that the market recovery is ultimately ahead, and the guidance of an advisor, irrational emotions will be removed from the equation, and investors with a plan will be very well positioned for the future.

UNDERSTAND YOUR INVESTMENT GOALS AND RISKS

It's important to work with an advisor to get to know yourself better as an investor. An advisor will talk to you about what you are saving and investing for. And how you feel about risk – are you willing to risk a lot for potentially larger returns, or would you rather accept slow and steady long-term growth in exchange for more security? A good advisor will help you answer these questions.

But in turbulent times, many investors mistakenly believe they should change their



"Good advice will carry you through good times and bad. A well devised investment plan is 'all weather' and will guide you through the highs and lows and put you in position to benefit as a recovery takes hold."

approach to risk. They want to get out of the market and move entirely to low-risk investments or even turn all their investments into cash.

In the big picture, this could be the worst possible time to sell, says Geist. "By selling in a market downturn, you turn a paper loss into an actual loss. Then you have to time your re-entry when you invest again, which may in fact create more risk."

"Work with your advisor to determine your actual risk profile, then compose a portfolio aligned to that risk tolerance. Your approach to risk should be the same in good times as in bad."

DON'T PUT ALL YOUR EGGS IN ONE BASKET

Another key portfolio strategy is diversification: Whether your holdings are large or small, make sure you include an appropriate mix of fixed income securities, such as bonds or GICs, that provide stability during difficult times, and also stocks that give you the opportunity for growth as the market climbs. Diversify among industry sectors and different global markets. Appropriate diversification can deliver upside in good markets and protection in down markets.

There are simple ways to be diversified: managed portfolio solutions, such as ▶



For what matters.



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"By selling in a market downturn, you turn a paper loss into an actual loss. Then you have to time your re-entry when you invest again, which may in fact create more risk."

MAKE REGULAR INVESTMENT CONTRIBUTIONS

Another great investment strategy is to set up a regular investment plan that takes a portion of your income each month and invests it. You essentially avoid the risk of jumping into the market all at once and your balance will build up over time. "It also turns you into a buyer in down markets when the opportunity is greatest," notes Goss.

CHECK YOUR PLAN REGULARLY

Finally, good investors monitor their investment plan regularly and review it at least annually with their advisor to ensure they remain on track. Every investor should

evaluate their progress and make any necessary refinements based on changes in their life that may affect their investment profile, such as a new job, children's needs, or home improvements.

Investing through the market cycle can be very rewarding, provided you have the patience for a disciplined approach. The way to solidify that discipline is to engage an advisor, set your goals and create a plan based on your current life situation, financial circumstances, and what future goals you wish to achieve. Oversee your holdings, take a steady approach to incremental investment and monitor your progress.

But above all, stick to your plan — it will reward you in the long term, through all market conditions, in spite of inevitable downturns. ▶

CBC Managed Portfolio Services™ are all-in-one investment solutions containing investments such as equities and fixed income securities. They are built to match different risk profiles of investors including a conservative mix with high fixed income weightings or more aggressive portfolios with higher equity exposure.

CHOOSING AN ADVISOR

EVERY CANADIAN can benefit from speaking with an advisor — no matter what your financial situation is — and what stage of life you're in. Financial advisors aren't just for the wealthy. Working with an advisor as a key step toward wise investing, whether it's for a TFSA, an RRSP or other investments.

A good advisor will help you understand your financial needs and risk tolerance, define your goals, guide you toward proper asset allocation, get you access to professional portfolio managers, if appropriate, and help you create a plan and stick to it. And if you're worried about the cost, let me remind you that Canadian banks are a great resource with thousands of qualified advisors whose role is

to provide investment advice to bank clients.

Many people find their advisor through a referral from family, friends or colleagues. But one of the key roles of an advisor is to bring outside expertise to help you make financial decisions. If you are referred to an advisor who is also a family member or friend, ask yourself whether you can have a business conversation with this individual in which your ultimate decisions are not guided by the relationship. In fact, ask yourself the same question with any potential advisor: Do you feel comfortable?

Can you speak openly? Your answer will tell you whether this is the right advisor for you.

Interview other candidates to look for a good fit. Don't necessarily

accept the first person you come across. In your discussion, check qualifications. An advisor who has achieved accreditation and passed professional certification will have a foundation of knowledge and an understanding to assess your circumstances.

Ask about experience. It's not a question of finding the person with the most years behind their belt, but have a conversation about how long they have worked with most of their clients, the kinds of clients they deal with and, most importantly about some of the lessons they have learned from different challenges faced by their clients. Also, ask about how their approach to their advisory role has changed compared to when they first started in the industry.

You are looking for a person who listens, knows and improves with experience.

Once you have chosen your advisor and created your plan, monitor your portfolio together regularly. Compare your progress to your plan and time at least once a year with your advisor to review the comparison and discuss ongoing adjustments to your approach.

As time passes and your investment time horizon shortens, or as circumstances such as employment, marital status or spending needs change, you and your advisor will need to adjust your plan accordingly. But, with consistent and regular attention, your investment plan will carry you toward your path through market changes and life events alike.

Tax-Free Income Is Now a Reality

CANADIANS COULD USE A financial break right about now, and you have to admit that the chance to earn tax-free income for the rest of your life seems to fill that prescription.

Tax-free Savings Accounts (TFSAs), introduced in the 2006 federal budget and available as of January 1, 2009, make the dream of tax-free investment income a reality with positive implications for people at every income level.

"The TFSA is perhaps the most revolutionary savings option since the RRSP," says Jesse Golombok, managing director of tax and estate planning. CBC. "It's an unprecedented opportunity to save and earn investment income without being taxed. And you never forced to liquidate it as you are with an RRSP."

The rules are generous. Every Canadian resident aged 18 or older with a social insurance

number can deposit up to \$5,000 a year in a TFSA. The money can be placed in savings accounts, investment vehicles such as GICs, mutual funds, stocks and bonds. While you don't get a tax deduction for your deposits or investments as you do with an RRSP, all the earnings — interest, dividends and capital gains — accrue tax-free, even when you withdraw them.

Better yet, if you need the money for any reason, you can withdraw any amount (some restrictions may apply depending on the investments chosen) and re-contribute it any time starting the next year. Withdrawals do not affect eligibility for federal income-tested benefits such as the Old Age Security, Canada Child Tax Credit or Guaranteed Income Supplement. Plus, any unused contribution room can be carried forward from year to year. Golombok says the TFSA fits all kinds of financial and tax purposes.

A TFSA is a great way to set aside a rainy-

day emergency fund. "Rainy-day funds are not typically too efficient because they are invested in highly-taxed, interest-bearing vehicles," says Golombok. "Now, you can set up a tax-free emergency fund that can actually be used for emergencies or non-emergencies."

For retirement planning, it's the perfect vehicle for those with limited RRSP contribution room or income earners over age 71. For parents, it's a great complement to a Registered Education Savings Plan, providing an additional way to save for children's post-secondary level school tuition.

For estate planning purposes, the value of your entire TFSA at death can be left to your surviving spouse or partner, who can then contribute it to their own TFSA regardless of available room, and thus continue to grow that value on a tax-free basis. If it's to anyone else, the value is not added to the income of the beneficiary and the estate pays no income taxes on it. Future income and growth would then be taxable to the beneficiary.

The TFSA gives Canadians more savings and investment options, and with choice comes the need for advice and planning. He adds, "That makes this a good time to meet with an advisor to address which investments to incorporate into your TFSA in order to fit into your overall investment plan." ■

INVESTMENT TIPS

- 1 Work with an advisor.** Working with an advisor is a key step toward wise investing. A good advisor will help you understand your financial needs and risk tolerance, define your goals, guide you toward proper asset allocation, choose the most appropriate investment products, and help you create a plan and stick to it.
- 2 Understand your investment goals and risks.** Work with an advisor to get to know yourself better as an investor and determine your risk profile. Match your investments to the time horizon of your goals.
- 3 Don't put all your eggs in one basket.** Diversify among industry sectors, different global markets, and investment assets classes such as equities, fixed income or cash. Appropriate diversification can deliver upside in good markets and protection in down markets.
- 4 Make regular investment opportunities.** Pay yourself first — put a portion of your monthly income directly into your investment account. Investing a set amount at regular intervals lets you take advantage of the effects of compounding sooner.
- 5 Check your plan regularly.** Check your investment performance against your plan with your advisor at least once a year — more often in difficult times.

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Under the Madoff mushroom cloud in Palm Beach



As I've spent the last 15 months, going back a week or so, in southern Palm Beach, it's foolish that I was away for the Madoff explosion. "It's as if an atomic bomb hit us," said my closest friend's husband, speaking of Palm Beach's Jewish community. He never invested with Bernie Madoff. "Three reasons," he explained. "He never reported a quarter where he lost money. In his financial reports, the first two were at least twice the length of the accounts, and I had never heard of his upstate New York accounting firm in Maracaibo."

The mushroom cloud is centred over the Palm Beach Country Club, founded as a retreat for the old-fashioned exclusion of Jews from the island's tiny private club. Side-laden to this day by many of Palm Beach's old families, its members were determined to reflect the excellence of Jewish values. "Mitvah" is a club rule, which mandated means a substantial philanthropic back ground is a prerequisite for membership. Genuinities are that one third of its 100 members are Madoff victims. The result, charity requests heaped as endowments requests and donation drive.

And good goes discriminatory spending. Some agricultural areas rich in oranges and lemons make show orders of gowns, but spare a thought for the hard working sales staff whose entire income is commission based. Palm Beachers who do continue being as accelerator citizens. "Wing it up into the latest ball you get," one woman in a North Avenue boutique told her salesgirl, carefully holding the newly purchased, freshly worn dress. "I'll put it in my cosmetics bag. The housekeeper can non-stop." The high priced garden landscapers here make this fairly big bloom and sport and to the question, "How much will it cost?" the 77 year old Bronx gene Land (Manhattan) Jewish, a part-time resi-

dent of the island, told the tiny Madoff the weekend he had lost was "not Jewish" (it was measured to be US\$200 million). He had recently sold his house in Cap Ferrat to a wealthy Russian for 120 million euros and transferred the funds to his "good friend" Ben in Maracaibo.

Russian travel and move like combined in a comedy. Multi-millionaire Robert Jell, a pivotal social figure in Palm Beach's Jewish social scene, who promoted Madoff's funds, as whispered to have had little money in the funds himself even though he's made the biggest show in town of selling his mansion and jewelry to a consortium they. Who knows? With this volatile mix of academic fraud and loss, the wildest stories gain plausibility.



The high-priced garden landscapers are not used to being asked, "How much will it cost?"

ability. Nothing can be verified, no one will permit their names to be used. This is a disaster area where escaping the blast source to have as many social dangers to being caught in it. "They made us feel so small," said a woman who had not invested with Madoff. "It was an exclusive club that couldn't lose money that we couldn't join."

If Madoff's alleged confession is true, he was a con man in an old tradition. Like every con man's burning ground, he was the social milieu that he knew. Being a Jew, most of his victims are Jews. But that is no protection against the ill will the Jewish community is feeling from outsiders. The perception of Jewish wealth has always been a double-edged

sword, accomplished through with significant outcomes. Even in the best of times, "Jew" or "Jewish" can be used as an adjective of dishonesty or envy. In older dictionaries you can find it as a verb, too, and there are not the best of times. Who needs a Jew to establish some new fraud record now, just when the Jewish people are at their most beleaguered point since the 1930s and in early the time the world is undergoing a major unrelated fiscal crisis that harms everybody? The state of Israel battles overseas today who are attacked by Jews by who is a Jew crowd. "It is not 'Jew' to claim that Hamas has been firing rockets into Israel?" a Bill in CIBC town under charity asked its reporter near Gaza, unconsciously confirming a limit.

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'If they defeat us as a coalition, they will have to run as a coalition. It will be either the Conservatives or the coalition.'

PRIME MINISTER STEPHEN HARPER TALKS TO KENNETH WHYTE ABOUT SUCCESS, EMBRACING DEFICITS, AND THAT DRAMATIC WEEK IN OTTAWA

Q Over the last couple of months, through the formation of the coalition and progress of Parliament, what was the experience like for you? What did you learn from all of that?

A: Well, you know, in a sense it hasn't changed of the government's policy. The plan was to pursue a budget as early as we could, early in January, and that's what we're going to do. I mean, it's been an interesting time—obviously there's been a change in the opposition leadership in a consequence and so, you know, it's great to have it in a sense to increase greater knowledge of what is in the opposition's actually looking in terms of public policy. We obviously have significant economic challenges in the economy, we're continuing to work on that, and that's what we're going to do. And what may be interesting out of all this is if we actually get some idea from the opposition what their economic positions are.

Q What are your priorities going into the new year? The campaign platform wasn't really clear as the Throne Speech which wasn't really the same as the economic update, and then the economic update was abandoned a couple of days after it was read, and now we'll probably see something new in the budget.

A: Well, most of the measures in the economic update will be brought forward into the budget, other than a couple whose we indicated some modifications, but the budget will once again be different because the real

ity is that throughout the fall we've been facing increasingly changed economic circumstances. We've been doing something unprecedented, which is not just consulting private sector forecasters on the economy but consulting them every two to three weeks, and every two to three weeks we have had mutually different interpretations of the economic circumstances than we did the time before. So we continue to revise and update our plans to deal with those circumstances. I think that the underlying reality is that Canada enters this recession in a pretty strong position compared to most Western industrial countries. We're entering the recession, and all the indicators we will see as deep here and we should be able to come out of it sooner. If you look around the world, what other countries are now doing, they're things that Canada did over a year ago, and a half ago, particularly some of the big, big solutions they're talking about in the United States, and the sales tax cuts that Prime Minister Brown has brought in in Britain.

Q So why do we need all that extra spending, and 330-billion dollars of that, if we'll be able to ride this out in six months?

A: Well, the reality is that the situation is, notwithstanding all of that, still worse than forecasters were indicating three, four months ago, and we've got to make sure we don't have a long and prolonged drop in economic activity. So in our judgment, that is going to require fiscal stimulus. Obviously for general spending and deficits—usually short-term deficits—

are not something I personally wish.

Q Then why do these?

A: They are what is necessary for the economy to grow.

Q You're a better economist than I am, so I'm sure you've seen the studies on stimulus spending, and in almost every case when we have a recession and spend to stimulate the economy, the economy's actually in recovery by the time the spending actually takes place. Government just can't be nimble enough to time the markets.

A: There are very real risks. What I'm concerned to the previous, and what we've been indicating in our crisis economy budget on solutions, it will be looking at them with spending that will have very quick impacts, short-term but very significant that will have quick impacts. At the same time, we will continue to ensure we control measures to make sure that we cannot longer come spending and that we're able to come out of a deficit as quickly as we can out of a recession.

Q I asked you about what you learned through the month of the coalition and all that environment. Aside from what the opposition's up to and what the opposition wants, what about the way you guys handled things? Are you happy with everything you did?

A: Well, you know, my own judgment is that when we really saw there was a combination of a partnership we prior to the election—part of what led to the call for the election—and during the election was the increasing opposition for the role of opposition approach of

the other parties, and their increasing willingness to work together to do that. I think that's what's a crucible, and now I think they'll absolutely have to make some decisions, you know, are they remain in providing the government with their input on the economy? If they are, obviously we will take those things into account. If not, they'll make their own judgments about how to make our focus will be on what we think is best for the economy.

Q They don't think you made a mistake or you misused your relationship with the opposition?

A: Well, I think it's always the right of the government to pursue what it believes is in the public interest. There were some mistakes—particularly the political miscalculations—the opposition parties disagreed with, but the government listened, and the government has decided to go with a fiscal measure of an alternative. But make no mistake, the government believes that the elimination of these subsidies has been done eventually, that this is in the public interest.

Q Is it good policy but the timing is a political mistake?

A: Well, I guess that's a conclusion you have to reach because we withdrew it. That said, it's still the right policy, widely supported by Canadians.

Q Are you going to come back to it then?

A: It will be part of our platform in the next election campaign. In the meantime, we'll put a freeze on those subsidies. Instead, I think it's ridiculous that, at a time of economic recession, political parties are getting subsidies from the Canadian taxpayer that have no relation to their own attempts to even raise money—that's ridiculous. And we're obviously disappointed there's no willingness in the opposition to deal with that problem, and to indicate, you know, that we're prepared to lead by example from the top. We're disappointed with that.

Q The Conservative party would have taken the largest reduction of any party as a consequence of that policy, but that's their decision. But I could go back, they've said that that's not the reason they're doing what they're doing, and in fairness they did the coalition well after we indicated we weren't pursuing that particular policy. So I do think, as I said before, that some of the opposition leaders are on the record saying this is in fact going to be what they had all along. We'll see how having seen public opinion, whether they choose, in effect, to recognize the results of the election, to accept that the government is the government, and to give the government their ideas about how to

run the economy, or whether in fact they try to bring the government down. These are the two choices before them.

Q All these steps that you're now taking—accepting business and large deficits, borrowing money at the federal level in Canada?

A: No, we're not dealing with the terms and the realities we have. We're about to build a new nation in terms of the vote sector. What we've done is that the only thing we can do under the circumstances. When a car is manufactured in this country, in South America, it crosses the border several times in assembly. It's integrated in all aspects from the beginning of production to the marketing stage. It's a completely integrated industry. The United States is engaging in going to engage in a government-directed restructuring. Either we participate in that in some way, or the industry will be completely restructured out of Canada and we will lose 300,000 jobs in six months.

Q Are you going to do anything other industries besides the auto industry?

A: Obviously the government's preferred approach, as you know, is not to provide direct assistance to any industry without transparency for competitive reasons. Our preferred way of going is to invest in public infrastructure, to keep our tax law, business tax law, to keep a competitive environment.

Q But it's not early to say it will stop at the auto industry?

A: We have to be pragmatic. We have to handle each problem according to the reality we're in. In the auto sector I think everybody who's looked at this seriously knows we've done the only thing we can do here.

Q Do you think it's fair to say that the big spending bills of Canada and North America are taking advantage of the political atmosphere to drive through more of their ideological agendas?

A: Well, look, this is a fact. First of all there's nothing it should be clear that's nothing unconservative about running deficits during recession. There's actually pretty strong economic theory that would indicate that you don't want rising taxes and ending government programs across the board, but what we've got to be clear of is we're in a deficit [it] that those spending measures are short-term and that we're in a position where, in the economy recovers, we move back into surplus. And obviously the risk the government faces is that this becomes an excuse for permanent long-term spending that is, in fact, not unconservative, it's just simply big government that becomes a burden on the economy. That is a significant risk, which is why I think it's important to have a Conservative government managing this lead

at program.

Q You did a big for Quebec as prime minister—expanding its role in foreign affairs, acceptance of its involvement by Parliament, and [providing] billions to answer the perceived fiscal imbalance between Quebec and the rest of Canada. And then during the election the province effectively turned on you over a review year of its funding. What's your plan in Quebec now?

A: Well, first of all I've not seen it was that simple. We did hold our nose in Quebec and held on our seat from 2006 which was considered a historic breakthrough. Obviously we would have liked to do better. But look, the government will continue to do what it believes on the best interests of the country. Where there are things we can do to accommodate Quebec within a united Canada we'll do them, and that is consistent



'First of all, I should be clear, there's nothing unconservative about running deficits in a recession'

with the Conservative party's historic philosophy of fiscalism. When it comes to things we think are in the interests of the country—doing things that offends or, quite frankly, doing things that offend a governmental role to be non-partisan—obviously this party will not do that.

Q Will the government amend the Canada Bill of Rights Act to prevent unconservative interventions or just express by human rights commission?

A: The government has no plans to do so. We're certainly aware of the issue. My address

standing—we've been making this closely. I think you'll actually see that's been some modification of behaviour on the part of the Canadian human rights commissions. The more progress one might now see mostly at the provincial level. And it is a very tricky issue of public policy because obviously, as we've seen, some of these powers can be abused. But they do exist for valid reasons.

PRIME MINISTER HARPER: A pre-election rally in Longueuil, Que., after making remarks about the anniversary of Parliament at Rideau Hall.



which is obviously to prevent public resources from being used to disseminate hate against vulnerable members of our society. That's a valid objective. It's probably the one that we haven't got the balance right, but I'm not sure the government today has any answer on what an appropriate balance would be.

Q There are things well to the polls right now—you're as high as you've ever been—but I don't think there's been a leader of a federal party in Canada who as proved her standing in Parliament with as much during or right after a recession, and I also don't think they've ever been a leader who won a majority in the election they've just won in the person their time. What are the odds of a Stephen Harper majority, especially in this economic environment?

A: Look, I've said another election is not my focus right now. Obviously if the opposition defeats us on the budget, my view is that we should be having another election.

Q But you want a majority, no?

A: If we have an election that will be my objective, but my objective is not to have an election. I've been through three national elections in four years. Since I returned to

politics a little over six years ago—I guess it's getting close to seven—I've been in three national elections, one leadership race, one party referendum, and a by-election to win my seat. All I've done is run for office continuously. I would, even during a recession, relish the occasion to actually sit back and attempt to govern for a while. But look, the fact of the matter is that, before the 2004

election, if I didn't want to have an election right now. Obviously, if we had an election today somebody will have a majority because it will be either Canada's Conservative government or the coalition.

Q So you think the coalition's going to stick together?

A: Well, I'm saying if we had an election, if they were to defeat us—and you know my



"The results of the election stunned and, by the way, largely elated them"

election all of the pundits were predicting a crushing Liberal majority and, of course, they were a minority. In the fall of 2005, all the pundits were saying the Conservative party had no hope of winning the election. We won the election. We won a strengthened majority (in October 2005). Gravel, it's still a majority but we won a strengthened majority in the beginning of a recession, which is unheard of in Canadian history. I can tell you from conversations I have with foreign leaders that the results of the election stunned them, and largely, by the way, elated them because they all feel more optimistic about their own possibilities. Granted, most of them have much more resources than we do. So look, I've obviously had a lot more political success in my life than I thought I would have. I'm honoured to have the job, whoever needs to be the Canadian people give me, that's the mandate I'll work with, but

now—if they do form the only constitutional protocol and moral option is to take the people to choose who should govern and that there will be two choices, and somebody will win a majority if those are the choices. But my preference is not, for all kinds of reasons, not to have this election.

Q So you think they'd actually run as a coalition?

A: I don't think they have any choice: if they defeat us as a coalition they have to run as a coalition, and I think there will be the real choice before the election. The election will know that if you're not electing the Conservative government you're going to be electing a coalition that will include the NDP and the opposition. But, as I say, my strong preference is to govern, and I think to go through several more months of election, all a new government being formed, all the things that that takes, all the delays, would serve no useful purpose to the economy right now. I think it's just better for us to govern, and I think it's better for the opposition, rather than just opposing us and rather than getting together to oppose us on everything, to actually tell us in a reasonably what kind of things they think we should be doing for the economy. ■

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FOR PEOPLE WITH DIABETES

LET THE GAMES BEGIN

Why solve Canada's woes when there's politics to play?



PAUL WELLS

And now for your monthly forecast: On Jan. 26, on a bright, sun-dappled Wash. region m.t.l., millions of Americans will watch Barack Obama take the presidential oath of office. Studied by social magnificence in both houses of Congress, as well as a formidable cabinet that includes a Nobel prizewinner, and supported, for now, by millions of Americans who didn't even vote for him but who admire his spirit and see no reason to wish him ill, the young new president will embark on a serious program of reform to his country's economic policy, its social programs, its own craft and its relationship with its allies abroad.

Six days later in Ottawa, your members of Parliament will reconvene for yet another high-stakes chessmanship round of *Hip, Pull My Trigger*.

Our poor neighbours to the south will be bogged down in the tedious search for real solutions to real problems. Up here it's just empty calories. Fun! When Madisonville Miss. needs the government's latest Treasury Speech—the fourth in three years—in fact Obama will be giving over the great vision for limits of Stephen Harper's latest passion pill attack on the opposition parties.

“My fellow Canadians—what the hell does he mean by that?”

“Alopd, the speech didn't mention infrastructure. Sources say the PM wants to have the opposition into criticizing him on that so he can make around back and backhand down with a surprise infrastructure bill that, if it's defeated—could lead to a surprise election call or...”

Every time Michael Ignatieff and Jack Layton wander to within three feet of each other, teams of crack microphones will swing into action, screaming the body's language for him about the future of the Liberal-NDP (lock and) coalition government or writing *ignatieff* (lock and) folded over *awakened small world*. Oh my God, oh my God they're wearing the same watch!... Anything—absolutely anything—could be the subtlest tipoff announcing an imminent bloodless coup/coalition/pragmatism/new Liberal leadership election.



JANET BEECH (above) gets it about it in P.O. Harper (above) while Jean Charest (above) delivers the Throne Speech, competing head-to-head in the arts of misdirection and contradiction.

ring round of negotiating-per-sec TV adiffical admiral/communist overture to Quebec's cabinet (or maybe one or several).

In this badly constructed there is little danger that anyone will mistake Finance Minister Jim Flaherty's Jan. 27 budget for a plan to allocate \$220 billion worth of spending in pursuit of long-term goals. What's the plan on that? No, instead we're all going to trace Flaherty's budget to the trigger for a brand-new confidence crisis. We haven't had one since December, after all, and we're sure to jinx it. So here's the deal: Budget Day is a Tuesday. If we can't get the headline “CRISIS” and “NOBODY HAD SEEN THIS COMING” onto the front page of the *Globe* by Saturday at the latest, then by God, we're just not trying hard enough.

Meanwhile, in Washington, that killey Obama will be setting down for a bunch of “meetings” with his “advisers” to look for “solutions” or “problems” that can headstrong with “legislation” in the hope that others “live” will “improve.” (BORING)

Here in Canada, we got over all that solutions-to-problems-per-sec way back in the early 90s, when Paul Martin changed our politics forever by announcing that he might have to quit the Chretien cabinet over something Jean Chretien might have said, but that he couldn't bring himself to decide. This led to a weekend of wild speculation and rumours that was so much better than any—especially Ottawa sez—that nobody in the capital has been able to kick the rumours-and-speculation habit ever since. Absolutely nobody: Government, opposition, reporters, Liberal-Democrats, *cahah*, the mayor here in the 60s, we are all stone dead on the What Joe Harpered because we've got the volume knob turned up to 11 on the What Do You Suppose Might Happen Next. I'm telling you, this city is a trip. The guy who runs my local magazine shop greets me with a grin, “So do you

think this confusion thing is gonna fly?” People at the complex debate the relative worth of Michael Ignatieff and Ken Dryden. “This new Liberal guy,” somebody on the train back to Ottawa after Christmas was saying, “I can't even pronounce his name.”

As we said above, empty calories. All this babble and incoherence what of it like talking about politics, but it's just empty talking about politics because in some societies there is, bound up in the who's-who/who's-downs of political gossip, some attempt to diagnose a society's problems and their potential remedy. We're so far past that in Ottawa I'm not sure how we get to a politics of high-minded concern for public policy issues, if indeed there is anyone left who wants to. This is because the government's top priorities remain mixed mixed issues, while the Prime Minister seems to prefer it.

These things have a lag time. The Conservative's supporters have been slow to notice that nothing Stephen Harper says on anything is credible anymore. Once they notice it will take longer before they begin to care. Any leader of any stripe can't win by first a while on his opponent's shared disdain for his opponents. The Liberals have worked hard for half a decade to ensure that disdain for Liberals remains potent fuel.

But if you're Stephen Harper these days, what else are you for? Smaller government? Just what will you see that budget? Fiscal conservatism? Only on Thursdays. Barrenness, Budget Day will be Tuesday. Instead to respond to? We'll all be swimming in rivers of pork by Easter. Letting government sink or swim by themselves? Please. Stock Day was in Linn, Que., the other day offering \$180 million.

THE FRENZIED PARALYSIS OF POLITICAL OTTAWA IS SOUL-DESTROYING. THERE ARE IMPORTANT THINGS POLITICS COULD BE ABOUT BUT ISN'T.

In late guarantee for the Dave Chiddister, because that's what a 21st-century economy needs. Duffin's Harper managed to spend them, almost on a daily basis, the finest minister press had them to be each thing Wrong, both times.

Good decision dates? Parliamentary writing of Supreme Court appointments? Senate reform? Stealing in Afghanistan? It was all so clever and exciting the first time Harper did the thought of what everyone thought he'd be, why back on it he was merely posturing David Emerson's cabinet sent Chien to meet in the chert, or so it seemed. But by now it's clear that Harper's playing dodge.



hull, nor then. Does anybody really think the principles in the Throne Speech, whatever they are, will guide the Prime Minister's behaviour in the months ahead?

So, do I believe a many-headed Liberal NDP three coalition thing would be better? No, actually I don't think Michael Ignatieff believes it either, even though the Liberal arm-of-leader is so present at all the meetings leading up to the creation of the coalition, but, signed a letter to the Governor General asking for her support for the thing, if still available he will lead a coalition government. “Microscopy” Ignatieff has watched Harper survive on a diet of *Enochian*, and he watched Stéphane Dion fail by advocating the Green Shift, a clear policy for the long term, and, as a bonus, a policy Ignatieff championed before Dion did. The lesson Ignatieff has drawn is that coherence is deadly. He will compete with Harper in the arms of mendacity and contradiction. Ignatieff has always been a diligent student of his surroundings. He took one look at today's Ottawa and decided it is a place where one must not say what one thinks.

We laugh about these things to keep from crying. The endless frenzied parade of political Ottawa is soul-destroying because there are important things our politics could be about but isn't, our energy-wasting house holds, our improving but still second-rate universities, our increasingly incoherent attempt to run a 21st-century economy on 19th-century infrastructure. You might draw up a different list from mine. I think we can both agree that nobody's list is getting serious attention in Ottawa lately.

That's why Barack Obama's inauguration will grate, even on those Canadian spectators who are relieved to see the back of George W. Bush. The ceremony on the steps of the U.S. Capitol will inspire a seriousness of purpose—heck, just a presence of purpose—that has no match in Ottawa.

There's no need getting too gloomy. Obama's task and much of his government's mission to repair work after Bush drove the U.S. economy and foreign policy so wildly astray that it will take years to mend the damage. The intensity of the current Obama moment is an antidote, a sort of therapy. We can afford a few years of constant idleness while we wait on the beach for a decade's relative fixed virtue.

But by now we've had three ditch years and more. We have been leeching from crisis to crisis, from incoherence to broken world, for years now. Stephen Harper won more scraps in 2006 than he has in his life up to then. And it's harder today than ever before to discern a reason why he wants to be in politics. After the Liberalism some more? More. More Great. And then? What.

PHOTO COURTESY OF JIM CARR; CARR: MICHAEL WELLS



A STAR ROOKIE'S SHOT

After much speculation, theorizing, mockery, Justin Trudeau is in Ottawa. Now what?
BY AARON WHERRY PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELAIN GABLE

The camera comes on and his eyes light up. Standing inside the studio on the second floor of the parliament library, he turns directly into the lens and talks cheerfully about getting young people to "vote" about the political process. He's been asked to give a clip for Canada's Next Great Prime Minister, a game show that asks overly eager young people to reveal their premature delusions of political grandeur. He gets on the first take. "You're a pro," murmurs the producer—but he does his spiel a few more times to be sure, then, after pausing for a moment to inhale at his head, does it again in *français*. The camera

man takes a moment to tell him how he's loved him just as a boy. As he's leaving, a Hill staffer tells him how nice it is to see another Trudeau in Ottawa. Out the library door, there's a group of middle-schoolers who are visibly impressed in coming across him. He stops to shake a few hands, then he's off, leaving another group to nervily gawk from afar. He has to go back to his office. There's paperwork to finish.

"There's a moment—oh, forgive me. Obviously there's a depth of responsibility, of almost majesty to the place, there's this weight of

"Here you're doing something that's huge" but I've been working toward this for the past couple of years," he says. "I remember seeing interviews with various people who've had successes at various points, where they say, 'Wow, I feel like tomorrow I'm going to wake up and someone's going to say, 'It's all mine a shame, you're out of here.' And I have to admit I've felt like that a few times in my life. Talking about this right now, I realize it has absolutely no fear of that here. And I know myself enough to know I would be feeling that if I was just here on my name, if I was just here on family business. It's because I know how hard I worked and how much I built with the people in my riding that I'm here for. That, you, there's a sense of importance to the solemnity of what I'm doing. But this is my place right now. This is my place."



HE KNOWS some doubt his 'depth.' "You say you know what? I'm not, but it is in me."

After all the speculation and apparition and cheering and celebration and cynicism and mockery, Justin Trudeau has arrived in Ottawa. And he, for one, seems quite happy about that. But the central question of his public existence remains the same as it was before he got here: what's next?

For the record, Justin Trudeau is not an idiot. At least now as he knows you might think he is—given how far his career seems to outstretch the "heroism" of his background—and few true idiots are so self-aware. "All my life I've had people coming at me with certain expectations and certain images of me. And either you build up to it or you say, you know what, this is me and take it or leave it," he explains. "One of two things is going to happen. People will either decide, 'Wow, Justin's changed, he's gotten so much more depth and so much more serious.' Or they'll say, 'Well, maybe we were wrong. Maybe he had it all along.' Because here, I don't care what one they say because my story is my story."



Orderly, Al Gore and The Osins. An atlas was open on the table while. A collection of vintage encyclopedias had arrived.

On his desk was piled the aforementioned paperwork, letters and notes to be reviewed, edited and signed, most of it ignored—to the frustration of his minister-in-charge, Trudeau told and asked: "For years I was asked by the media and by anyone, 'Justin, are you going to go into politics?' And I always said, 'Totally. I might, but I'm not sure.' And I really wasn't. It was far from inevitable that anyone thought it was. Because there are a lot of ways of making a difference. But I realize that this is the right one for me, right now."

He says it won't until after the last Liberal convention, in Montreal two years ago, that

'THERE'S A SENSE OF SOLEMNITY IN WHAT I'M DOING'

he decided to do what everyone else considered preordained. He was feeling a bit over exposed when it was over, so he decided to withdraw somewhat after Stéphane Dion's victory. But Dion told him not to disappear too completely—he was going to be needed. "And when he said that I hadn't taken seriously the idea that I might run. Not at all," Trudeau says. "These needs to be that trigger."

It will too early to say how closely his politics will follow his father's legacy. He supported Dion and his message of better economics through free trading. But he realizes that as his only stature of there is an organization capable of selling it, with a large pool of money to do so. He thinks he can be part of that, much like his father. He's not a father, but he's willing to share the Liberal convention. My dad will definitely consider Dion's success, but I'll ignore it.

Otherwise, he wants only to be perceived as a young man who is a member of the MP who must answer when he's asked. He's going to be back now of the opposition benches with the rest of the Liberal freshmen and is officially the "associate crisis for business and industry and skills development (yacht)." In one bit of early luck, he won the annual literary first prize which MP will introduce the first private member's bill. His office has said it will have something to do with young people. "I think before he comes there were a lot of pressure points," says fellow Liberal Mark Holland. "But I think he's doing a lot more than that. He's come in with very much an attitude of wanting to get things done, wanting to be a part of the team, showing himself to be someone of a lot of depth, who has an enormous amount to offer."

Depth is no small virtue in this case, as

front in the arena that rarely assumes Justin Trudeau, he of the cool hair and pretty eyes and fancy-pants of talking, looks it. "One might have an impression that maybe he won't be a crusader," concedes Bruce Young, a party organizer in British Columbia and a liberal "but that would be wrong."

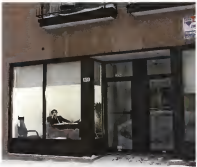
Young recalls a political junkie in Israel earlier this year and a meeting with a deputy minister in the government. "I was taken aback, frankly," he says, "at the way in which Justin was able to engage in a detailed dialogue about nuclear proliferation in terms of Iran, what Middle East had just happened in the Hezbollah assassination which had

own introduction. "I hardly an 'imaginal speech,'" sniffed one columnist. "More like an 'imaginal comment.' What did all planned beforehand, to avoid straining public attention, getting the first speech thing over with out getting soaked?"

The story of that question is that it's "prod nothing." Trudeau does go on occasion. When he first stepped onto the Commons last month, he paused to take in his newfound sights. "The best advice anyone gave you on your wedding day was pause regularly and just absorb it because it goes so fast," Trudeau says. "That's what I was doing." The next day, another columnist accused him of "over-

struck man, there would still be the camera men who went to Giesse and the women who whisper his name as he walks by and the guy who's just happy to see another Trudeau musing these halls. In his office he'd noted that among the correspondence there was a picture someone had sent about Trudeau as a young boy with his father. The sender did not wish to have the photo autographed, just wanted Trudeau to have it.

Of course, it is not simply that Trudeau is his father's son, it's that Justin is supposed to be some version of Pierre, another leader, another inspiration to strangers. In any case, that's a compliment. There is no disowning as yet



NOTHING he does seems to go unnoticed. Even his sneezing in a bus fare event.

for PM Ben Mulroney. There is no automatic expectation that the offspring of national leaders follow their fathers. Indeed, for all the children born to presidents and PMs, only once in North American history has the privileged child followed the parental path—John Quincy Adams following John Adams and George W. Bush following George W. Bush. The most recent example didn't work out so well.

So the fact that Trudeau is to become like his father is not a foregone conclusion. It is a possibility. Trudeau entered and maybe even led—on the value of the last election made him the guy you could lead the Liberals—surely speaks not only to something in his father, but to something in Justin. "There's no question I am aware that there's an image that goes with me. And I'm unsettled that (in image, every day that goes by, it becomes a little more me and a little less my father," he says. "The pre-given can be debated, but I know that I'm taking the given that my father's legacy gave me and I'm building onto it my own identity. And it depends on the degree of cynicism of the journalist, on the political position of the person I'm talking to, to decide where that balance is. But I know I'm steadily building my own legacy. That comes not through great coverage in the papers, it comes through the work I'm going to need to do."

The work. He is relentless on this, as is his adviser. There's work to do for the people of Papineau, work to do in a new MP, work

to do as a member of the Liberal party. There are hands to shake, speeches to give—in November he drew a crowd of 1,000 to a fund-raising dinner in Chatham, Ont. It's comfortable, he's happy, but he isn't satisfied. "Say what you like, I'm going to do what I do. I'm going to figure out if I'm good at this," he says. And what then? What next? When it comes to the requisite part of every interview with Justin Trudeau, when the reporter asks whether he wants to be prime minister someday—maybe even Canada's next great PM—the response is long and complicated and uncomfortable, but it's not "no."

"Yes, it means that question is asked. It is much more about what's the end, what is the point. And politics isn't..." Another 200 words follow before he arrives at the end of what is only vaguely an answer. He talks about being an MP, the Liberal party, government, cabinet, fighting poverty, strong grounded, family, education, the value of travelling, the importance of self-esteem in children, dreams, gay, juveniles and Papineau. "I'm going to get through this step by step. And I'm going to keep trying to make a bigger and better difference in the world by whatever means happen in front of me..." He says that if the news out not to be very good as a politician, he'll go back to teaching, or public speaking. "I'll find a different way to be an activist to continue making a difference in the world. I will use the tools at the time they become available. But I'm not spending my time focusing on 'oh, what if eventually?' because right now I have a lot of work to do right here. And it's not..."

If the question just asked all the time. Indeed, I went into politics to see, Justin. So when you go into politics?" He said, "I'm saying a lot of answers. Yes, it's something that I thought about, but it wasn't the only path. It became a prime minister a possibility," he adds rhetorically at one point. "Sure, I guess. But it's a path among many. There's no one member of Parliament in the place now who doesn't drink, who wouldn't it be great to be prime minister one day? But you can't spend your time focusing on that because if you look too far ahead or dream about something like that, not only are you in danger of wandering off the immediate steps you're involved with, but there's something of putting an ego forward, of saying, 'Well, yes. I'm obviously the answer to all the problems.' I hope that everyone here can provide answers, but what else they have and what position they have is really something to be seen down the line."

And as Justin Trudeau says that every other politician to have ever existed that way. We could never again all the ways in which he is not like any other, but his assurance is getting stronger. It's getting louder and with all this talk, Trudeau's feet behind in his paperwork. ■



JIM AND ANNA Stephenson, whose son was killed by a pedophile, keep insisting for changes

PREDATORS STILL LOOSE

Despite serious talk, reform to Ottawa's sex offender registry is too slow in coming

BY MICHAEL TRICOLANTE—Cory Birnbaum is a repeat sex offender, a violent person who targets vulnerable women and prostitutes. In 1994, after being a Calgary woman so viciously that his brother's imprint stayed on her face, he pleaded guilty, telling the court he wanted to spare his victim the trauma of testifying. A decade later, when he was back in custody facing two counts of sexual assault, Birnbaum made no such strategy. He confessed, took his lumps, and vowed to change his callous ways. "I want some people going deeply," he told a Regina judge. "I am sure."

Today, the 38-year-old is behind bars yet again, accused of kidnapping, choking and sexually assaulting two more women in Banff, Alta., on July 13. During his last court appearance, Birnbaum announced that he was switching lawyers and needed more time to prepare his defense. His words to the judge seemed all too familiar: "I would like to apologize to the Crown and the public," he said. Birnbaum is sitting at a separate charges

in connection with the vicious attack. But what the public doesn't know, until now, is that he is also facing a single charge back home in Saskatchewan: failure to comply with the national sex offender registry.

In Canada, all registered sex offenders (predators and couriers) must inform local authorities of any move, leaving home for more than two weeks. Birnbaum didn't bother telling Regina police that he was heading west for his summer, and when a guard dropped by his house for a random visit, he was nowhere to be found. A few days later, those two women showed up inside his truck, completely unaware that the man behind the wheel was a known sex offender in breach of the rules.

Because of Ottawa's obsession with privacy rights, police are not even allowed to warn the public that a registered rapist is missing. A man as dangerous as Birnbaum was essentially free to violate the rules—and allegedly strike again—without the hassle of ever using his mug shot on a wanted poster.

Four years after the federal government unveiled the registry as a state-of-the-art crime-fighting tool—and one year after a *Maclean's* investigation uncovered a history of problems with the program—the case of Cory Birnbaum is a sad reminder that the system remains horribly broken, doomed by

happened. Spain politics and the whole inter-action between the Shias, the Christians, the Druzes, the Shiite-like country is my notion that this guy's not got chops is BS. And any one that would understand his intelligence would be doing so on their own pen."

That might read like a threat. Or as anyone at Toronto's saying.

Whatever his thoughts on race or pro-life, Justin Trudeau isn't a racist, he's a liberal. His official swearing in was an event, and his official speech, a series of unapologetic comments from his mother, wife and father. So this modest reception the House was less excited, the Liberals walked into to question the state of the national treasury. "Will this government," he asked, "make a commitment to restore Canada to a healthy and socially responsible economy, with priorities and principles similar to those it introduced 25 years ago?" Comparatively, it was an innocuous

ONE POLL HAD HIM AS THE TOP PICK FOR LEADER

ously," saying Dineen's chair in the process. "Whenever he calls themselves that leads to the House, he poses the iconic portrait of his father, possibly rapidly escape. He says he doesn't always look at it, but when he made the ceremonial walk to and from the Senate on the occasion of the Throne Speech, he made a point of reaching out and saying it. A couple of weeks later, in the midst of the capital's centennial celebrations, he appeared last month, he had no idea as Peter Van Loan, the minister of public safety, transferred over the coalition with the separatist Bloc, revealing his late father's name. "Dear Justin Trudeau, and Pierre, going along for the ride."

Even if the likes of Peter Van Loan are

'Gay' refugee goes straight in bid to stay

BY MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI • To quote the judge, "the circumstances of this case are quite unusual." In 2005, a Nigerian married British Oshinwara landed in Toronto and filed a refugee application, claiming his life was in danger back home because of his sexual orientation. He is gay. Or at least he was gay.



HIS GAY CLAIM didn't work, so Oshinwara got married

didn't pan out, Oshinwara tried a new strategy: he "married." His homosexual partner, hegan dating a woman from his church, and on July 18 they exchanged wedding vows. (It's beside a fellow Nigerian who was granted refugee status just three weeks before the marriage—has since applied to sponsor her new husband to stay in Canada. As their pastor wrote in a recent letter, "Our church was delighted to witness the remarkable progress that Mr. Oshinwara has made in his life.")

Justice Michael Phelan was not nearly as impressed. The Federal Court judge refused to postpone the green's scheduled deportation, despite his lawyer's pleas to wait until the immigration department rules in the sponsorship application—which could take another two years. "To put it mildly, Phelan didn't believe that Oshinwara was telling the truth." The Court is faced with that incredible and unexplained conversion of sexual orientation," he wrote in his two-page ruling. "Judges are not blind to the realities of life nor are they so naive. This story, combined with the repeated circling of the repeat sponsorship, looks a lot of reality upon which to exercise equitable jurisdiction."

Neither Oshinwara nor his lawyer could read the decision, but his wife confirmed that he has not been deported yet. ■

Recession? (Hic!) What recession?

BY NICHOLAS BÖHNER • Despite the economic collapse—or maybe because of it—Canadian liquor sales are up. Why up? Sales of everything from cars to houses to furniture have fallen off a cliff. But booze is flying off the shelves as Canadians deal with the pain caused by falling markets, dwindling savings and lost jobs.

Unadjusted sales from large retailers of alcoholic beverages are up 17 per cent this October over October 2007, Statistics Canada reports, a striking contrast to plummeting holiday spending on gifts, travel and entertainment, which one Scotiabank survey estimated may have slipped by 13 per cent. Manitobans were particularly in need of liquid courage, as it set a new all-time record for single-day sales on Dec. 23, traditionally a red-letter liquor-buying day. It sold \$1.6 million worth of booze in less than 24 hours.

An unfortunate side effect of all this apocalyptic fun has been havoc on the roads, as police across Canada report a worrying rise in impaired driving. In Toronto over the holidays, the number of drivers charged spiked an incredible 13 per cent over the same period in 2007. In Prince George, B.C., charges rose so rapidly that senior Manitobans called special meetings to address the problem, and Edmonton reported an overall rise in drinking and driving a year over year.

The rise in alcohol consumption isn't new,



WHEN ECONOMIC times get tough, Canadians start drinking

says Lawrence Derry, an Alberta addiction specialist. Booze has always been a loyal crutch in tough economic times. "Whenever you get any warning sign in the economy, what do people do? You go to the comfort that you know you can rely on," he says. "The stock market took a real pounding in October, a lot of people lost small paper fortunes. Put all that together, well—of course people are going to look for that extra edge." ■

Transport Canada's big fat secret

BY MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI • Canada's "no-fly list" contains at least one name for sure: Hani Al Telhami. As Maclean's first reported in September, the Concordia University student holds the dubious distinction of being the only person ever denied permission to board an airplane as a result of the screening program, and he is now fighting the federal government in court, demanding



AL TELHAMI is on the no-fly list, but how many others are there?

to know why authorities consider him an "immediate threat to aviation security."

Al Telhami aside, the rest of the so-called "Specified Persons List" is a heavily guarded secret. Compiled by Transport Canada with the help of the RCMP and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), it is the farthest thing from a public document. Only a select few officials have access, and if you're not it, you won't find out unless you actually show up at an airport and try to check in.

Others won't even read how many entries the list contains. Previous press reports have listed figures as "between 500 and 2,000," but when Maclean's filed an Access to Information request for the precise number, the ministry's response—see line—was no response at all. "There are as of 27 August 2008, _____ listed on the Specified Persons List."

Apparently, releasing the number—not the names, just the number—could jeopardize Canada's ability to keep our skies safe. How, exactly? A Transport Canada spokesman would only say that disclosing "the size of such a list would compromise our intelligence gathering and security efforts."

The government has told the public how many potential terrorists CSIS is watching (294, as of 2006) and how many terrorist financing networks are operating in Canada (43 to 76, as of last month). Yet the feds have decided that our security would be compromised if Canadians knew how many "immediate threats"—other than Hani Al Telhami—have been declared too dangerous to fly. ■



HOW MANY RESOURCES AND POLLUTANTS does it take to make a light bulb?

More than it should. The reality is, even energy-efficient products don't always come from energy-efficient beginnings. Consider for a second what goes into producing, powering and transporting products around the world like hybrid cars, appliances and yes, even energy-efficient light bulbs. Until they're manufactured in a carbon-neutral way, transported on low-emission vehicles, and powered in our homes by cleaner energy including wind and solar, green products

will never be as green as they can be. While your commitment to use energy-efficient products is still better for our planet, that commitment will mean so much more when we have a fair, effective, science-based agreement on climate change. That's why WWF is working with government and industry to make that happen and get to the root of climate change. Working together we're confident that a vibrant, low-carbon economy is possible. But the time for action is now.





THERE IS DANGER IN HITTING HAMAS TOO HARD

HEARTS AND MINDS

Israel's been winning the PR war over Gaza, but can that last?

BY MARTIN PATRICKSON • Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak is regarded as tough, humanitarian and clever—certainly not the type to make fun of himself on national television. Yet there he was on *Eretz Nehelachnah* ("A Wonderful Country"), Israel's answer to *Saturday Night Live*, joking fun at himself and his 1.5811-million constituents for the benefit of the show's one million weekly viewers. His Dec. 21 appearance was more McCain

than Obama: Barak badly crisscrossed prime ministerial candidates Benjamin Netanyahu and Tzipi Livni in the polls, twirling up in next-month parliamentary elections, and his performance had all the hallmarks of a desperate man traveling far west.

Four days later, Barak orchestrated *Motve Ofnet Netotim*—Operation Open Doors—a devastating military effort to Hamas's rocket attacks on southern Israel from the group's stronghold in Gaza. And while the air assault and subsequent ground invasion of Gaza by Israeli troops on Jan. 3 wasn't pure electioneering—the mission itself was separately in the works well before the election was called,

and it was approved by Israel's civilian government—Operation Open Doors had already done what Barak's *Eretz* appearance couldn't: It turned him from a dove, unknown speed think tank's discreet military leader in the eyes of the voting public.

Barak's pep in the polls also speaks to Israel's relative public relations success during the current operation, compared to its attack on the Iranian-backed Hizbullah in southern Lebanon in 2006. "Selling" a war to the world at large may be the height of cynicism, particularly with more than 610 dead as of Jan. 6 and more than 3,000 wounded in 11 days of fighting. Nevertheless,

it seems to have worked—at least for the moment. Israel's expanded support beyond its traditional allies in the Harper and Bush governments, securing the tacit approval of its Gaza neighbors from the European Union, whose president declared it a "defensive, not offensive, action." It is a markedly different reaction from 2006, when the EU issued a blistering condemnation of Israel within days of its assault on Lebanon.

While it also concerned the campaign's many casualties, the Arab League remains deeply divided over how to proceed. The majority of its members such as Jordan has been remarkably muted. Saudi Arabia, no friend of Israel, effectively blamed Hamas for provoking the crisis by not receiving its six-month truce with Israel when it expired on Dec. 15. Egypt, meanwhile, took Palestinian as a whole to task for failing to unite behind one government. (Hamas, which grew out of Egypt's formerly outlawed Muslim Brother

hood, was an overwhelming victory in the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections. The next year, it took control of Gaza, while Fatah, now under the leadership of Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas, retained control of the West Bank.)

When Israel attacked Hizbullah in 2006, "I don't think we were perceived as people who had advanced everything else," says Uri Davis, a former government press agent. "To the contrary. It was all of PR, we were perceived as overreacting and trigger happy." Part of this, Davis suggests, was because Israel was seen as attacking Lebanon as well as Hizbullah; he considers the Israeli government's identifying of Hamas as a malignant enemy separate from the Palestinian people a highlight of his country's propaganda war.

Israel's PR initiative began well before the first heads dropped on Gaza. For over a year, the government has organized massively

AN UNUSUAL sight in Israel: In Gaza, many of the Hamas leaders killed in the air attack

on Israel for foreign journalists to see the results of rocket attacks from Hamas-controlled Gaza. In July, speeches by an Israeli official, the government's talking points were adopted by Hamas officials, when the three presidential hopefuls and the wide world why Israel might resist against such attacks. "In many ways, the story sold itself," says government spokesman Mark Ilguz.

Israel has also targeted Arab civilians in more ways than one. One of the first ways was granted by Prime Minister Ehud Olmert prior to the invasion of southern Al Anbulah, the pre-Arabic news channel. Israeli warplanes, meanwhile, bombed Al Aqsa, the Hamas religious shrine, on the second day of the military campaign. The station, which has broadcast news, children's cartoons and other non-Islamic stuff for decades since 2006, was taken over by Israeli forces, and showed a looped



PR WON'T QUELL ANGER AT CIVILIAN DEATHS

RAMAD (top), firing her gun. Israel will have failed if it in the end forces Israel just one rocket.
Henry Siegman of the Council on Foreign Relations, an American policy institute. A wounded Hamas, some say, will open the door to far more radical Islamic forces.
"Sadly, global jihadists, all-Qaeda type people, have begun to emerge on the edge of Hamas," says Ahmed Khulaid, a Palestinian academic at St. Antony's College in Oxford and former negotiator with the Palestinian Authority. "They have taken some root in Gaza, still on a very limited scale." He says recent articles on Internet outlets and a Christian bookstore—Gaza is home to roughly 1,000 Christians—see the signs of a more extreme Islamic element in the area. "The paradox is, a rational sensible assessment would lead you to the conclusion that the best bulwark against these guys is in fact Hamas itself," Khulaid says. Hamas has not recognized the right of Israel to exist, and its leaders say they remain committed to their fight against a Jewish state. But, Khulaid says, "as much as you might be resolved by what Hamas says, the truth is that it is a pragmatic movement. It has political goals, and they are open to negotiation."

Who might conduct any such long-term negotiations is of course unclear. Israeli officials suspended his election campaign on the day he ordered rockets to bomb Gaza. Regardless of the military outcome, though, he will have formidable opponents in Foreign Minister Loh and particularly Netanyahu, the former prime minister whose hawkish stance has made him very popular in Israel as of late. "I don't think he can win the elections," says Uri Dersht, who knows Barak personally. "I think he wants to screw for him self the position of defense minister."

Either way, Operation Cast Lead looms heavily over Barak's political career. Israeli public opinion is notoriously fickle and easily influenced by Israeli military casualties, which as of Jan. 6 had taken to seven but likely increase the longer the battle rages. Furthermore, massive street protests around the world were ramping up pressure on Israeli leaders to push for a ceasefire. And there already seems to be a "short bottom" date on Barak's popularity: In the week following his appearance, Fox's *Mohr* and a typically paid-out set of the military campaign might not 75 km away from its soldiers. In Barak's past, he has been ordered ordering the violent phases of Operation Cast Lead. Netanyahu with him raising Israel's military might and ends with his resignation after the mission failed to halt Hamas rockets. Barak can only hope that reality, brutal as it is, won't be as brutal as the satire reaching it. ■



THESE ARE more than 100 inauguration balls planned, including the 'Hip Hop Ball' and even Al Gore's 'Green Ball.'

OBAMA'S BIG PARTY

The new president's inauguration will be of historic proportions

BY LITIZIA C. KAYE — Even the drinking promises to be historic: Bars and restaurants in normally business-down Washington have special dispensation to stay open around the clock from Jan. 17 through Jan. 20, when president-elect Barack Obama takes the oath of office as the 44th president of the United States. For those four days this heavily Democratic city will serve alcohol until 4 a.m. to celebrate his swearing-in—and perhaps to celebrate his swearing-in with his predecessor, a Republican renegade who won't be every night by now.

Every four years the American capital with a million-dollar giveaway to mark the democratic transition of power to the next administration. Besides or not, the inauguration has long been a coronation. Officials are expected to crowd around the gates from one to four million revelers converging on the National Mall for the historic swearing-in of the first black president in this country's African-American history. On Thursday after Martin Luther King Jr. Day celebrations, in the ceremonial glow of Barack Obama's birth, the inauguration will follow the tracks of the Great Emancipator, Obama

plans to arrive in town via an old-fashioned white-top stretch limo that began in the revolutionary capital of Philadelphia, picks up his vice-president, Joe Biden, en route in Delaware, and tops in Baltimore before arriving in the capital. (The grand entrance is being orchestrated despite the fact that the Obama family has already held up this month in a hotel near the White House so his daughters could begin classes at their new private school.)

Obama's inauguration day has already been interrupted by Inauguration Week, crisscrossed with car cars, parties and gifts. Hotels for miles around Washington have long been booked, and private apartments are in a mad race for thousands of dollars. Some 10,000 charter buses are expected to clog city streets. Federal buildings and many private businesses will be closed. The subway system will be working overtime. The city already began printing Obama's portrait on its face cards.

Obama will kick things off on Sunday, Jan. 18, with a public celebration at the Lincoln Memorial, where Rep. King gave his "I Have a Dream" speech in 1963. The following day, Obama and Biden will launch volunteer campaigns on the steps of the Capitol building, the inaugural parade will roll down the White House along Pennsylvania Avenue, which has been

in the strictly Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts to tape her own "Inauguration celebration." Other side events include "Hip Hop Ball" featuring Barack Obama and U.S. Gov. J. Biden's "Green Ball" featuring organic food and LED lighting. Various U.S. states and groups are throwing their own parties, ranging from a star-studded MTV gala to a charity ball by the Baltimore Washington Black McDonald's Operators Association. There is even a website (www.inauguration.com) that allows ladies to register photographs and details of their ball gowns to avoid the horror of showing up in someone else's costume.

The planning hasn't been without tension. Obama's choice of an evangelical Christian megachurch leader, Rev. Rick Warren, to give the invocation angered many supporters because Warren has spoken out against homosexuality and gay marriage. Then there is the presence of Obama's 27-year-old stepdaughter, Janine, to open an inaugural address worthy of the occasion. During the campaign, the winning ceremony gradually pulled the scoring rhetoric of Obama's early speeches down to earthly concerns. Now, with conditions only getting more, many Americans will look again to the president elect to lift them up once more. And they hope that this time he can do so with more than just words. ■

THIS CABBIE HUNTS PIRATES

Abdiweli Ali Taa'r once drove a taxi in Toronto. Now he's in charge of a Somali coast guard.

BY JONATHAN GATHERER • To hear Abdiweli Ali Taa'r tell it, the past six days of hijacking and plunder off the Somali coast are nothing to an end. Early in the new year, says the former Toronto cab driver and Le Chateau sales clerk, he walked his men into battle. And the world's media, should they choose to ignore the obvious risks, are well come to hear witness. "We are going to where the pirates are holding the ships. I'm going to attack them," Taa'r says in a crackling cell phone conversation.

The Puntland Coast Guard—or as they are known for business purposes, the SomCar (short for Somali Caravan) Coast Guard—will face long odds. Taa'r's armada consists of one armed 30 m patrol vessel and three fishing junks with anti-aircraft guns mounted on the decks, captured from his adversaries in a pre-Moon skirmish. He has 120 militia men in his employ. The pirate gangs—30 at last count—are said to have as many as 1,000. And then there is the question of equipment. The navy-owned for the Somali government's fleet, one of close to two dozen vessels currently being held off the coast, is UNRISF aid. The sailing pirate for the MV Puma, a Ukrainian ship laden with flour and rice, some and rocket-propelled grenades, is a cool \$20 million. Taa'r's men earn \$400 a month.

But since SomCar signed its contract that summer with the government of Puntland—a semi-autonomous region in Somalia's north with 1,600 km of coastline and home to most of the pirates plugging their trade off the Horn of Africa—there have been signs of progress. "I'm doing a good job. I've arrested the pirates and put them in jail," says Taa'r. His biggest success came in early October, when the coast guard liberated a group of Syrian sailors being held on the *Wali*, a Puntland-registered bulk carrier, after an 11-day standoff. "I told the pirates, 'You are surrounded. Put your hands up.' They refused," Taa'r explains. "They threatened my crew and he died. And then I made the decision to attack them." Ten UNRISF soldiers were captured and a new arrest trial is a jail as the port city of Bosaso. Away from it, although perhaps indirectly by reports that the *Wali*, Puntland-bound cargo of cement was the property of a government minister.

Of course, it's also hard to overlook the

TAA'R in Puntland. His armada consists of one patrol vessel and three fishing junks.

fact that this is Taa'r's second stint as head of the coast guard. SomCar's first contract ended spontaneously in 2007, when those of its own employees were arrested for hijacking a Thai fishing trawler. There were also allegations of extortion, political intrigue, and a spectacular gun battle between SomCar's militia men and Puntland's police and army.

This time things are different, says Taa'r. He's running for the Puntland presidency in the Jan 16 elections. And a recent meeting in Nairobi with United Nations officials and foreign diplomats, including Canada's ambassador to Kenya, has given him hope that the international community will soon offer some

moral support to his ragtag band of sailors. The battle against Somalia's pirates appears to be heading into a new phase, with the UN Security Council authorizing foreign initiatives to take action from the failed state's coast and on its shores—with the permission of an as yet extremely "incomplete" government. SomCar's coast guard may not be much, but it is the only domestic force currently fighting the hijackers. The world needs their expertise, says Taa'r. "Somalia pirates are very smart and they are very rich. When they need U.S. and other navy ships, they go on vacation. Some of them go to Florida. When the navy ships leave the area, they go back to their business." The ex-SomCar men should know. By all accounts, the swelling ranks of Somali hijackers include not just disgruntled police and soldiers, but more than a few of his former employees.

If you want to find someone important in Somalia, the neighborhood just east of Toronto's Pearson International Airport is a good place to start. "Downtown" as it is known, became the first stop for thousands of refugees from the war-torn country starting in the mid-1980s. And it is still the headquarters for the Somali diaspora in Canada—close to 35,000 people, according to the last UN census, more than half of them living in the GTA. "They are all here in Canada: the government, the private, the military," says Gurmeh Ali, head of the Somali Canadian Association of Endebec, and Puntland's Special Envoy in Canada. "They go back and forth, especially around election time. All who have been a Canadian citizen for close to 30 years, remembers the Taa'r—Abdiweli, and his brothers Hafi and Abdi Ali. "I saw them go from driving taxis to becoming very rich men," he says.

Abdiweli, the eldest, was the first to arrive in Canada in 1985, living for a time in Mont-

real, then settling in Toronto. Over the years, he found himself and even employed in a series of classic immigrant jobs—a driver at Pearson airport, sales clerk, housing insurance, behind the wheel of a cab. Among entrepreneurs, he left the country for Dubai in 1995 to start a fishing company. Drawing on contacts he had made in Toronto's Asian community, he found a niche exporting sea cucumbers harvested off the Horn of Africa—one of the world's richest fishing grounds—on the Far East. "He's a Muslim, social guy, but he was very focused on the business," says Hafi Ali Osman, Abdiweli's roommate for two years in Dubai, and now executive director

of a family realty curve in 2002, as then during the brief civil war in 2002, when the state's head, Abdiweli Yusuf, launched a military campaign against his elected successor. The Yusuf, cousin of the same clan, rallied to Yusuf's cause, with Hafi becoming a key military

PUNTLAND police guard captured pirates. Left, two of Taa'r's coast guard boats.



SOME OF HIS MEN HIJACKED A TRAWLER

of the Ottawa-based Canadian Friends of Somalia. Hafi, a former Somali navy officer, captured the family's growing fishing fleet, always as he aimed to discourage pirates and competitors along the lawless Somali coast. (The country has been in various states of anarchy since the overthrow of Siyad Barre in 1991.)

After the founding of Puntland in 1998, the Taa'rs continued to grow their business, acting as go-betweens with the fledgling government and a Thai fishing company. But the

advice. And when Yusuf triumphed, they prospered. In late 2001, the brothers invited their first contract to take over the Puntland coast guard. "The Taa'rs got this opportunity as a bonus, because they were so helpful to Yusuf during the civil war," says Hafi's brother, a Norwegian researcher who has been studying Puntland politics since the war's inception. The Taa'rs, who allowed SomCar to work fishing licenses, splitting the proceeds with the government, was a profitable one. And the Taa'rs began quickly diversified, with the brothers acquiring a paper factory in Bosaso, and building the Yaa City Hotel in Galkaayo—a plush resort and conference center where matches near the grounds—now run by Abdi Karim, the youngest brother. The SomCar Coast Guard, which at its height employed about 400 militiamen, scored some victories. Piracy, while a problem, wasn't nearly as epidemic as a more, so the foreign reach of its time trying to stop illegal fishing

fishing, and the dumping of toxic waste along the Senegalese coast. The fleet's most notable success might have been a weeks-long game of cat and mouse with the Dutch-owned *My Cerezo Express* in the fall of 2003. Dubbed the "Shrimp of Fools" by the world's media, the Cerezo spent months wandering the coast of Africa after its cargo of 12,000 Australian shrimp was rejected as diseased by French authorities. The crew's attempts to give their "slobby mouth" infected bands ashore in Portland were repeatedly foiled.

But the Taar's success—normal and otherwise—was not strong with the local population. "Basically there were a lot of complaints from fishermen saying they were taking too much in fees, were too inefficient, and there were rumors of corruption," says Hansen. (Senegalese farmers on the Internet are filled with gossip about the "murders" of the family own in Toronto. For the record, Abdelkader he still has an apartment in Etobicoke.) The fact that the Taar's coast guard appeared out of the port of Toussaint, hence to a great deal, didn't help matters.

When their patron, Yusef was elected president of the national (and national) Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in late 2004, things started to go rapidly downhill. The Taar didn't go along with his replacement as Portland president, Gue Mouhammad Mousa, a fellow Canadian and former officer in Bane's army who had become an Ottawa gun store owner. Haif's attention was distracted by a new pressing job, leading TFG troops in battles against Islamic rebels, as well as from facing his neighboring Somali land, a breakaway republic. With Somalia's millions of fighting for their base, the fishing license money wasn't flowing in the way it used to—to the displeasure of Haif—and the company was having some internal problems as well. In March 2005, five after noon hijacked the Taar fishing boat for five minutes, a chance getting to kill the crew unless they were paid an \$800,000 ransom. The two, who had been aboard the vessel for close to three months to guard against pirate attacks, were apparently upset at not being paid. Haif refused to conform them, but it was a painful U.S. Coast Guard mission, clear and, this time, over. With a military attack helicopter hovering overhead, four heavily armed African guards boarded the Taar ship and took the Senegalese employees prisoner. They ended up in Banjul, where they were given 10 days' notice to pay a \$100,000 ransom that Haif's family couldn't raise. The Taar's last catch many relatives in Somalia.



In response, Haif canceled Somalia's five-year deal, and awarded the coast guard contract to a Israeli company, at Haif's, which is now appointed a member of the president's cabinet to run the operation. "He was a real African president," Abdelkader says bluntly, "just thinking about his family." Relations between the Taar and Portland's leader steadily worsened, spilling over into open warfare in January 2006 when the Senegalese troops in a fierce gun battle with police and elements of the army outside Haif's Bosaso compound. Abdelkader claims that Haif turned to "assassinate" his brother. Other sources suggest the firefight may have been a rather large mistake. Police, chasing a local boat, reportedly fired shots outside Haif's house, triggering a massive response from Senegalese band guard. Two police were wounded, and the fighting lasted for hours before the officers called everyone down.

The Taar's ties to Yusef—who resigned as TFG president in December—and Haif's military responsibilities kept the family at the forefront of Portland politics, however. And when Haif died in a car accident in February 2006, Haif even paid tribute to him as great person. But the country, at least from the other side, appears lacking. Abdelkader's presidential run (as one of 10 candidates, at least four of whom are Canadian) seems to be mostly about settling scores. "There is no real power," he says. "Every candidate is on his pocket."

There is nothing quite like \$300 million worth of stolen oil to focus pirate's attention. Piracy has long been a problem off the Horn of Africa, but it wasn't until a major supply route in the southern Indian Ocean was the superior Somalia Strait more than 700 km off the coast—that the international community seemed to take it seriously. But even the increased presence of the U.S., British, Spanish, Italian, Indian, Canadian, Malaysian and local naval forces hasn't been able to halt the hijackings. The Gulf of Aden is one of the world's busiest shipping lanes, and there are simply too many vessels to protect.

And for all of that's trouble about taking the fight to the pirates, the roots of the crisis are awfully deep. The pirates enjoy widespread support along the coast, not just because the charge removes piracy's economy in a desperate port, but because they are seen to be taking revenge for what the world has long ignored. Five days Somalia's central government collapsed in 1991, rapid fighting from Somalia, Arabia, and the U.S. has helped themselves to whatever they can pull out of the sea off the Horn. At one point in 2002, according to the High Seas Task Force, a body of international fisheries resources, there were more than 800 foreign ships harvesting off the Somali coast. And their plundered catch is valued at US\$4.6 billion a year—more than the country receives in international aid. "They did this opportunity,"

Mohamed Waldo, a long-time player in Somali politics and consultant for many aid organizations, says from his Nairobi office: "It is the mother of all crises in Somalia."

Since the December 2006 elections, another challenge planned, something that the public attributes to over-

THE MY TARA, hijacked by Somali pirates (left), former Somali president Abdullahi Yusuf (right), armed "security agents" in the



**'I MISS TORONTO,'
TAAR SAYS.
'I REALLY DO.'**

fishing, rather than the natural disaster. Local fishermen are asked to put their boats out to sea only if they are intended for pirates, says Waldo. And the world's business generally perceived to be in the business of protecting foreign vessels, rather than harassing the hijackers.

Then there is the growing sophistication—and perhaps internationalization—of the piracy, a group that are now far better armed and organized than Taar's men. Portland's first effort to create a coast guard came in 2000, when the government hired a British firm, Blue Security, to train and equip a marine patrol force. The company brought in a 65-foot corvette, converted an old Russian hotel into barracks, and recruited 70 militiamen, carefully balancing out the crew. In those days, dumping oil on illegal fishing and the dumping of toxic waste was a major piracy concern, says the company chairman, Lord Richard Woodbury, a former Special Air Services officer. Taar's only significant encounter with the pirates came in 2000 when a cargo vessel, the *Mad Express*, broke down

off the coast of Beragal and was hijacked. Woodbury dispatched two groups of men—one to rescue the crew being held on shore, and the other to liberate the vessel. They took little resistance. "Basically, the pirates jumped off the ship. One hijacker said, 'he recalls from his Cypriot headquarters: "There was nothing sophisticated about them at all. They certainly had no skills to operate in the way they are currently operating."

Haar pulled out of Portland during the oil crisis of 2001 and was hijacked. Woodbury dispatched two groups of men—one to rescue the crew being held on shore, and the other to liberate the vessel. They took little resistance. "Basically, the pirates jumped off the ship. One hijacker said, 'he recalls from his Cypriot headquarters: "There was nothing sophisticated about them at all. They certainly had no skills to operate in the way they are currently operating."

2001 civil war, when the fighting that drove operations, and at the same time began to choose sides. But the company, like many other private security firms, is now doing a booming business selling an expertise and protection services ranging from the region. For the last few months, Woodbury's men have been operating off the coast "on a daily basis," he says. "You aren't going to get a bigger problem. It can't be said further." He cites a recent passage when Haif's employees found a vessel and off 20 pirate boats over a four-hour period through a combination of rescue missions, and display—but not use—of arms.

As for what happened to his former employer—regularly drilled in small boat interception and boarding techniques—his knowledge has a compelling theory. "I think recently that there are people we trained who are now involved in piracy," he says. "It wouldn't surprise me at all."

It stands to reason that some of Somalia's original employees have also found new and more lucrative careers. Last fall, Fred Phillips, an Irish sailor who was held hostage for 47

days, told *Maclean's* that his captors looted of their coast guard (part 1) but *Abdelkader Taar* says any ransom is "bribe money," and definitely not his own. "They are the security of the country," he says. "They are willing to fight." He points with pride to the fact that his security firm attacked out to have this past summer, begging for a \$100,000 ransom. (The government cancelled all *Abdelkader Taar* in February 2008, after its forces refused to act order to liberate the *Sitar* Somalia, the nearest *Perle* was held open.) The new mission is "unavoidable," he says. "It needs a big-time job to come to us." And he hopes a recent promise by Haif to take the fight to the ground, establishing military bases around Portland and to court government order or pirate stronghold like the port of Eyl.

All that stands in the way of the coast guard cleaning up the pirate problem is lack of money—lots of money. Right now, Somalia is footing the bill for the coast operation, some US\$12 million a month. The reality in Portland is that civil strife, hyperinflation, and an epidemic of counterfeiting have left authorities virtually bankrupt. Most police and soldiers haven't been paid their salary for a month or more. And a lot of the people who are supposed to be guarding them. And for all his belief in the coast guard, Taar concedes that three months isn't likely to halt the hijackings. "These people are not criminals. They are only looking for money. If you create jobs for them, they will get out of the business. I guarantee it."

At the moment, Haif is in Kenya. Taar was hoping to raise \$100 million from international donors, but received only vague promises. "I told the U.S. look, if you want to help Somalia, the pirates are a problem compared to the problems we have," says Taar. "Instead of spending millions to protect our water, use the money to help build the infrastructure. Still, he holds out hope that a change of president—perhaps here, perhaps one of the more heavily favored candidates—will give the world confidence in Portland, and provide the backing that would allow the government to actually start gun training.

And then, when the pirates are all gone, maybe he can come back home. "I miss my Toronto," he says. "I really miss it."



PICHICAGO: COURT FREES REAR-VIEW TWEEZER
When cops pulled Montreal's *Rear View* out of its because he had an illegal Tweezer (it was on his rear-view mirror, allegedly obscuring his vision. They found crack cocaine and a gun. Davis appealed a conviction, stating the drug and gun evidence be suppressed because Tweezer wasn't really an obstruction. While the judges allowed his conviction to stand, they did strike down the law forbidding Tweezers and other accessories.

China aims to clean up the Internet

BY PATRICIA THURLE • China has decided that there's a new enemy: pornography on the Internet. So the Communist party has vowed to shut down 29 major websites and portals, including the dominant search engine Baidu as well as Google, unless they clean up their content. In a newspaper published Monday, Cai Mingzhao of the State Council Information Office, which leads Beijing's censorship and propaganda efforts, said that some



GET A HOLD of yourself, China says porn harms people's minds.

sites were publishing "low-class, crude and even vulgar contents, which severely distorted the public morality. The subject matter has deeply harmed the material and physical health of the younger generation."

China already exercises strict control over the Internet and regularly blocks access by its 380 million online users to any site deemed a threat to the political or social order. SoL websites and blogs containing any content abroad. Last month, the government's mass paper China Daily, which regularly has racist photos on its own website, reported that police in Shanghai detained a woman who became an online hit after posting a video of herself "nude." It's unclear what search engines could do to take pornography off the Internet. A Google spokesman pointed out that it "does not control the content of the billions of pages in our index."

While Beijing has launched such censorship efforts at obscure sites in the past, this time it was facing a major online, with low-level fan sites facing "stern punishment." Blogging pioneer Wang Jizhong thinks the clampdown is likely aimed at stifling online opinion in a year marked by the 20th anniversary of the brutal crackdown on pro-democracy protesters in Tiananmen Square, the 10th anniversary of a major uprising in Tibet, as well as growing discontent at the financial crisis deepens. "This is more than pornography," Wang told Reuters. "It's a warning."

Can anyone save Belgium from itself?

BY NATE LORAN • At the citizens of Belgium in the New Year, many would not expect a future with a little stability. After all, 2008 saw the country beset with everything from business between its two major linguistic groups, the near failure of its largest bank, and the collapse of a scandal-ridden government after just nine months in power. Now it will be up to Herman Van Rompuy, sworn in as the new prime minister just before year end, to turn things around in 2009.

Belgium's previous government, headed by Flemish Christian Democrat Yves Leterme, collapsed in December after a Belgian judge said he had "strong and serious" Leterme's aides had persuaded the court over a rescue plan for Fortis, a once-ragging bank filled by the financial crisis. Leterme was also criticized for failing to quell tensions between Belgium's French and Dutch speakers, whose bitter regional autonomy showdowns the government for months. The judge often spoke French speakers: he once famously accused Belgium's national anthem with French, and claimed the country's finest pieces were incapable of learning Dutch.

Van Rompuy, meanwhile, is a strongly reluctant replacement. He admitted just days before being named to the post that he didn't really want it. Yet though he's often described as dull, he is seen as a good choice, especially given an economic crisis he calls "the most serious since the 1930s." A former budget minister, Van Rompuy—a Flemish Christian Democrat, like Leterme—focuses pushing through an economic stimulus package drawn up by the previous government. He is respected by French and Dutch speakers alike, and has called for an inquiry into the Fortis affair.

SoL, in the turbulent world of Belgian politics, Van Rompuy's task is far from clear. An editorial in the *Libre Belgique* recently predicted backstabbing would break out within his cabinet. And don't bet the only thing Belgium likely has to deal with. Belgium's financial problems are coming up faster than you can count the country's linguistic divide to bed over once again.

A beacon of democracy in Africa



GHANA'S campaign: an election that Western nations would envy

BY USMAN MOHAMMAD • Stirred by democratic presidents on a volatile continent, Ghana is emerging as a beacon of democratic hope for Africa. Despite the threat of a violent clash over results that were almost too close to call, a new leader, John Atta Mills, has successfully taken the reins in an orderly, fair runoff election that would be the envy of many Western nations. The outcome is a rare example of an African nation handing power over to a legitimately elected leader.

It could stand as an example for other African nations, including nearby Cameroon, where voters are apathetic over President Paul Biya's long reign in power since 1982. Atta Mills, a lawyer, led the National Democratic Congress Party, and received 59.75 per cent of the ballot vote. The leader of the outgoing New Patriotic Party, Nana Aduko-Addo, by comparison secured 40.25 per cent in Ghana's closest vote in history. Aduko-Addo had initially threatened to reject the results, but heeded his court challenges after Ghana's outgoing president, John Kufuor, appealed to the parties to embrace the outcome. (There have also been reports of former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan working behind the scenes.)

Raphael Nyika, an associate professor at the University of Louisville, Ky., who specializes in African politics, credits the "high economic cost" civil unrest would have on Ghana—which recently discovered it has oil—as one reason for Ghana to proceed democratically. He also believes Ghana's growing international profile was a major factor for wanting to avoid the same bloodshed that engulfed in 2007 after a similarly close election in Kenya. "The Western world has come to regard Ghana as one of the most stable partners in the West African region," he says. "It is my bet that the ruling elite does not want to jeopardize this image of Ghana in the eyes of the Western world."



VAN ROMPUY: Dull, unwilling but good for Belgium



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THE EMPLOYMENT STORM OF '09 IS ON ITS WAY

Economists expect 251,000 jobs will be lost this year. Will yours be one of them?
BY JASON KIRBY

Every Thursday, Ken Kent's Viosses at Cooper Standard rack a list of names to the wall. Cooper is an auto parts plant in Stratford, Ont., that makes rubber door trim for the Detroit Three, and the previous decades the work schedule for the week ahead. It's simple, really, explains Kent. "If your name is on the list, then you're working; if it's not, you're not." On Dec. 11, then wasn't. And with that he became yet another victim of the job crush sweeping the country.

Then it's the first time the 45-year-old auto worker has faced the axe. Two decades ago she took a job at another auto parts maker, where her father had worked before her, only to see the company go bust during the recession of the early 1990s. As stressful as that time was, it was nothing compared to the anxiety she's feeling now. "This is so much scarier," says Kent, 41. "The first time I lost any job, there were lots of other places to go. Nowadays, there's nothing else I don't know what I'm going to do."

Kent's worries have been made worse by the sudden drop in the real estate market five years ago, when her job income source, the bank she ploughed and bought her first house. Once her unemployment insurance cheques begin to roll in, Kent figures they'll barely cover her car insurance payments, let alone food and other basic living expenses. "My car is sitting in the driveway with a flat tire, another one I can't afford to deal with now." She regularly checks the local news paper for other types of jobs. There was a "beverage trucking machine" position open the other day, but when you don't know the first thing about engine repair, let alone cars, what are you going to do? "I'll know the lay-offs are going to be very long term, I'd go back to school," she says. "But even then I really don't know what I would study. Where are the good jobs?"

It's a question being asked far beyond the assembly lines of the automotive industry. After 15 phenomenal years of employment creation, Canada's job machine is losing steam. As the nation gets a startling glimpse of what may be at stake this month, when Statistics Canada revealed employers shed a job every 10.7 jobs in November, the worst monthly plunge in a quarter of a century. Since then, it's clearly how of peak that at Canadian companies suggests that figure is almost certain to rise.

Pick any region of the country and layoffs are becoming a sad fact of life. Detroit's Big Three have already laid off tens of thousands of workers in central Canada, and announced they'll be shutting down many of their plants for a full month. On Bay Street, hundreds of lawyers, investment bankers and analysts have been let go. Media companies across the country have slashed their newsrooms—most recently Quebecor axed 600 jobs at its Sun newspaper chain. In Quebec, a major Telus maker sent 400 packing. In Calgary, 400 car-penters building housing for oil sands workers are themselves out in the cold. And in Vancouver, industries as diverse as mining and video game development have slashed jobs and are closing up shop.

Add it all up, and economists believe unemployment is set to jump dramatically over the next two years, and no province or industry is immune. TD Economics estimates 251,000 jobs will be lost over the next nine months. The major banks' economists are cautiously optimistic that the country won't see a repeat of the downturns in the 1950s and 1960s, when the make of the unemployment swelled to around 12 per cent of the workforce, if they're wrong, the scale of job losses would be the worse. During the 1990s Canada suffered two straight years of job losses totalling 315,000, warns James Marple, an economist with TD Bank. "One caveat is that job losses won't be that dire," he says. "But the rate of job losses being worse than we anticipate is there."

So the ultimate questions in most people's minds are these: could one of those vanishing jobs be mine? Who's safe and who's at risk? What parts of the country will be hardest hit? And even I do anything to protect myself?

THE GOOD...

"If you can build a bridge or fix a road, that's definitely a good thing," says Dale Ott, an economist with IRB Global Insight in Toronto. Governments everywhere have vowed to build their way out of the recession by putting people to work on infrastructure projects. In the U.S., president-elect Barack Obama hopes to job the economy back to life with a \$200-billion stimulus program, with much of that money earmarked for infrastructure. In Canada, Ottawa has already committed \$6 billion in such spending, with promises of more to come. Meanwhile, the public works authority serving the Greater Toronto Area, has set its 2009-10 five-year capital plan at more than \$2,000 million in the next two years to it builds light rail transit lines. In B.C., the government is repairing the collapsed Port Mann bridge at a cost of \$1.5 billion. Alberta has vowed to spend \$20 billion



AARON DELL, welder, Chatham, N.C.
Work status: Recently laid off. Collecting \$1 and looking for work.
How much debt are you carrying? \$5,000.
How long could you go without a job? I have no savings. I couldn't last long without a job.

over the next three years on capital projects, and Montreal's crumbling highways desperately need replacing. To Ott, that adds up to increased demand for truck drivers, or train types of laborers and welders.

Along the same lines, even though fears over climate change have taken a back seat to economic worries, governments are still spending considerable money on green energy projects. For instance, as Prime George, B.C., up to 150 jobs could be created from low-energy projects that use wood waste.

But infrastructure isn't the only potential bright spot out there. Byrne Left, vice president of marketing at the staffing agency Manpower, sees growing demand in the information technology sector as companies look for ways to become more efficient. "There's like this is a catalyst to drive that sector," he says. Likewise, while the gloomier Bay Street, those who specialize in corporate restructuring could be in greater demand during that recession, as companies slash their penny pinching says A.J. Feldman Associates, an executive search firm in New York, recently proclaimed a downturn is "not considered in a slow-growth economy." The firm's annual job surveys of U.S.-certified public accounting firms showed most have seen business jump 75 per cent over the last two years, a time when America's economy was slowing down sharply.

The key, says Laurence Shulman, the New Jersey-based author of *200 Best Recession*

Proof jobs, is to know what people need, no matter what shape the economy is in. A job with a safety in it is an example. "Every day people flush the toilet and the water has to be there," he says. "There are the real things people can't do without." Other stellar jobs doctors, nurses, teachers, court workers and law enforcement. (Vancouver, for instance, is on the hunt for 300 new police officers.) The fact that many of these jobs entail working for the government explains why public service employment is holding up better than in the private sector. Then again, the Harper government is now predicting a deficit of as much as \$10 billion over the next four years. If the economy turns out to be worse than currently projected, that could mean a decline in government revenues. If it happens, even these relatively safe public sector jobs could be in jeopardy.

THE BAD...

The thing about recessions is that they wreak havoc on an industry you quickly expand. This downturn is no different. The marketing, media and advertising industries, for instance, have taken a hit as publishers and producers struggle with dramatic technological shifts in the way people get their news and entertainment. An advertising budget gets slashed, media companies are bleeding jobs. Last month, Barclays Capital estimated that advertising spending in the U.S. for this

Ken Kent, 41, Stratford, Ont.
Work status: Recently laid off from Cooper Standard Automotive.
The blue to go to school, but I'll have to take a very long time.
How much debt are you carrying? \$13,000, plus mortgage.
How long could you go without a job? Maybe a month.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON KIRBY
PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON KIRBY

year will fall 10 per cent to \$151.1 billion.

Sorbes and his ratings agencies are one thing. For most Canadians, earning a paycheck is troubling, and the problems in that sector are also acute. Retailing has flourished in recent years, with big box stores springing up at lightning speed. Today the sector employs 1.5 million people, more than the manufacturing sector, which is a sector from just three years ago. The problem, economists warn, is that much of the consumer spending that fuelled the retail boom was done with borrowed money. According to the Bank of Canada, the ratio of household debt to disposable income has reached 131 per cent, up from 110 per cent nine years ago. At the same time personal bankruptcies have begun to edge up. In the third quarter of last year, there were 23,776 personal bankruptcies filed, up nearly 17 per cent from the year before. As consumers struggle to cope with the mountain of debt, they're cutting back at the till. In October, retail sales fell 0.9 per cent to \$159.6 billion from the month before, with the sharpest declines hitting stores that sell home furnishings and electronics.

Even retailers seem to be mixing it all and gas, which has driven Canada's economy to new heights, are exposed to softer profits. Over the last decade employment in the oil and gas sector alone has grown nearly 40 per cent to 145,000 jobs. The problem is that commodity prices have softened almost all of their gains of the last few years, putting many of those new jobs in peril. Don Drummond, chief economist with TD Bank, believes the price of a barrel of oil will settle around \$34.50, down nearly 50 per cent from a peak of just eight months ago. "The decline in commodity prices is the great equalizer," he says. "I think Alberta will have a stable output decline in 2009."

It's impossible to underestimate how important the boom in the West has been to Canada's economic recovery. Until recently the phrase eastern economic lips was "labor shortage." In June, in a report on the B-C mining industry, Don Lindsay, the CEO of mining giant Todd Corcoran, fretted about the "perking labour shortage." Six months later, his company has temporarily laid off five of its mines to cut costs and plans to lay off 165 workers at a mine near in Washington state and will cancel the sales from Fort McMurray high school dropout pulling down \$12 million at the local town. He says while no accident had their pick of the big jobs in the oil field. Last month AICO's St. John's, a Calgary subsidiary of construction, had laid off 100 workers and notified 400 workers because of delays in oil sands projects. "For years I've heard nothing but chatter about how Canada faces these probl-



ems across labour markets," says Doug Porter, an economist with BMO Nesbitt Burns. "I don't think you'll hear much about that for a while now. That concern will seem almost laughable over the next few years."

In a sense, the West has acted like a giant sponge, absorbing workers from across the country. For 20 straight quarters more people have moved away from Central Canada to other provinces than have come in, with most of that movement flowing east to west. If the sponge is squeezed dry, Canada could find itself awash with desperate job seekers.

The same is true for the construction industry. The housing and condo boom of the last few years fuelled a hiring binge among carpenters, electricians and the like. And Vancouver, construction accounted for 7.4 per cent of total employment—the highest it has been since the mid 1970s. In B.C. the figure peaked even higher, at 10 per cent. In fact, of the 33,000 jobs created in Canada between January and December of 2008, most of them went to the construction sector. "Conversely there is missing the weakest in employment," says TD Bank's Drummond. In other words, if it weren't for the building boom, Ontario would have experienced a job cut as long ago—as that province's industry now employs three times as many people as the

auto or a craft," says Porter.

It's become clear that many companies simply went overboard in their hiring. Economists have been warning that Canada's productivity levels were plummeting, especially in the resource and construction sectors. "It was a bit of a mystery to me why Canadian employment was hiring so many people through October," says Drummond. "I suggested to me that when things weakened, they'd be more inclined to do layoffs because they over-hired." Now, it seems, that time has come.

...AND THE UGLY

On a Friday afternoon in mid-December, while the Bank administration was working to do everything it could to stop a "principals' collapse" at the U.S. auto industry, four dozen Canadian automotive engineers gathered in a hotel in downtown Toronto to figure out what they would do if the unthinkable happens and one of the Detroit Three does indeed collapse. "We looked at our situation, with the auto industry going the way it is, and realized a lot of us felt the need to try to transition into other jobs," says Phil King, chairman of the Society of Automotive Engineers in Ontario. "What are they going to do if the auto industry can't support them any longer?"

The plight of the auto sector has domi-

nated most of the discussion around central Canada's worsening job market. And for good reason. Punctuated first by a rising unemployment rate, then by a rising unemployment rate, and then by a rising unemployment rate, the sector had already shed about 15,000 jobs since 2002. And the outlook remains grim. In its heyday, half of all cars and trucks sold in North America bore a GM brand name. Today it makes up just 30 per cent of the market. Without a full collapse, analysts say, the Detroit automakers must keep cutting jobs. And that translates into even tougher times for parts suppliers like Magna International, which has had to diversify away from the Detroit Three. In recent months the company shed several plants, letting go of thousands of workers. The Canadian Board of Canada says the auto parts industry shed 13,000 jobs in 2007, and predicts another 10,000 jobs will have been lost by the end of 2009.

Even the Japanese manufacturers Toyota and Honda, once hailed as bright spots in the auto sector, are starting to splutter. Just weeks after Toyota opened a new plant in Woodstock, Ont., in early December—a new choice for politicians to use as ribbon-cutting fodder—it would appear to be on its way out. Analysts say it will be on its way out soon. And it's not just Toyota. The outlook is just as spotty for much of Central Canada's

manufacturing sector. Quebec's low-skilled textile industry is likely to continue to suffer heavy job losses as work gets transferred overseas—even during the last five years of relatively good times, at least 1,000 textile jobs disappeared. Then last month Beaulieu Inc. announced the production of the maker of the Doc Martens shoes and the Doc Martens shoes, announced 1,000 jobs, the majority of them in Quebec. The outlook is better at Bombardier Inc.'s rail division, but for such signs of optimism, there's another source of panic slips. Last month Bombardier & Whelan, a pipe maker in Cambridge, Ont., laid off 50 employees after a contract to supply one critical oil sands project in Alberta was delayed. "The main message is that no province or industry is completely immune to the downturn in global growth," says Porter.

If there is a truly recession-proof job out there, it would seem to be writing books about recession-proofing your job. A deluge of self-help guides have hit the shelves, all promising the secret to general employment during hard times. In addition to Sherin's book, worried workers might cherish *The Finest, Easiest Way to Get Good Jobs in Today's Economy Guaranteed*, an article by one from *No Job? No Problem: How to Play Your Cards, Find Your Mind, and Have a Career When You're Out of Work*. If feeling your family is a higher priority, then there's the more straightforward *How to Prosper During Bad Times*, or *Your Anxious Survival Guide*.

Experts offer several tips to those who are worried about the security of their jobs, and they generally have to do with making your self as indispensable as possible. For instance, Shadon says workers need to make sure their higher-ups know what a good job they're doing (others might call that sucking up to the boss.) With companies feeling it on their costs, it's also best not to be seen as being wasteful. And if you can, stick close to your company's core business as possible. During good times, businesses often build up by branching into other sectors. Those sectors are the first to go in a recession.

The problem is, many of the suggestions offered by career advisors don't help much on a factory assembly line or in a job market where the most secure of jobs are being threatened. What could even be a strategy as school. Wayne Stillingman, the president of NorthQuest College in Ontario, says he's heard typically see a jump in enrolment during recessions as workers try to make themselves more employable. Of course, the best time to do that is to be before a recession actually hits, most it takes time to build up new skills. As Shadon admits, "There are no

IN THE 1990s CANADA SAW TWO STRAIGHT YEARS WITH OVER 350,000 JOB LOSSES

automotive and manufacturers sectors. But now the self-guided falling silent. For the last five years builders have put up about 250,000 housing units a year. For more than the 180,000 warranted by Canada's population growth. As of November, housing starts plunged to an annual low of 77,000 as the financial crisis forced developers to delay or abandon some commercial and residential projects outright. Even without the talk about infrastructure spending, commentators say it won't be enough to fully pick up the slack. "The construction sector is very vulnerable



Lisa Franklin
Hillcrest, N.S.
Work status: Laid off from administrative assistant job in September
What do you plan to do? Get a job in IT, and possibly move back in with my parents
How much did you lose everything? Made some long-term investments and lost a lot of money
How long would you be out of work? Maybe five or six months

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID COLLIS

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID COLLIS

WHEN LAWYERS ARE ONLY FOR THE RICH

SPECIAL REPORT:
Legal fees are soaring,
and thousands are
being left behind

BY KATE LOHAN • The Ontario Court of Justice, housed in a grey building with rusted steel windows, could have any visitor feeling like a tiny speck before the mighty judicial edifice. For Antonette Augustine's suit was especially rare. A single mother, she filed a lawsuit against her ex-trover child support and sole custody of their two kids. He hired a lawyer, she was on her own. "I don't make a lot of money," says the Toronto child-care worker. "But I make too much to get legal aid, and not enough to pay a lawyer." Augustine was left with little choice but to represent herself.

Do it yourself? Legal work, she soon learned, isn't for the faint of heart. "It's slick and fast, speak to the clerk, get it served, get it filed," says Augustine, who ended up all her vacations and sick days in a grueling odyssey to sort out her family life. The stress took a toll: she broke down crying in front of court clerks, and was often overwhelmed at work. "I'd be either all night, or killing friends," says Augustine, 36. Despite her best efforts, over a year later, the case had gone nowhere.

Augustine's experience was harrowing, but it's far from unique. As the cost of having a lawyer soar out of reach, more presumed litigants are flooding the courts in unrepresented numbers. While no definitive figures exist, some judges, especially in family law, say it's one to 60 per cent in their courtrooms. Chances are, those members are going to lose, as the legal profession is now proving the way for every little person to appear without a lawyer. Self-help centres have sprung up in several provinces, and lawyers are offering limited services to entire districts who otherwise couldn't afford them. Critics say it's a cynical way to deal with the problem: being your own lawyer "is like doing your own dental work or hair beauty," says Judith McGee, executive director of Downtown Legal Services, a law clinic for the poor, run by the University of Toronto's law faculty. "It's a desperate measure."

It's no secret who lies at the root of that desperation. "Let's face it, the cost of law- yers has escalated dramatically," says David

Scott, an Ottawa lawyer and chair of Pro Bono Law Ontario. A civil trial of two days costs \$25,220 in lawyers' fees, according to *Canadian Lawyer's* 2008 survey. That works out to almost half the annual median family income in Canada, and represents a cost of 21 per cent in just three years. An uncontested divorce now typically costs \$1,416, up a staggering 72 per cent in three years. Hourly rates are soaring, too. In 2005, lawyers billed to the bar that year charged \$130 an hour.



ONTARIO CHIEF JUSTICE Warren Winkler (center) presides over the system's biggest show

on average. Last year, it was \$220. Lawyers say this escalation simply reflects the realities of supply and demand: more people are mounting disputes in the courts, and cases are increasingly complex, as they're changing more for their time and expertise. "The market dictates higher fees," says Winnipeg lawyer Guy Joubert, president of the Canadian Bar Association. "I don't think access to justice is in crisis. It's in a constant state of reevaluation. The system is never perfect." If there is a problem, the government should funnel more money into legal aid programs, Joubert says.

But that attitude is at odds with mounting outrage over the justice system, as new voices within the legal community are warning to demand change. Many people "find themselves unable, albeit for financial reasons, to access the Canadian justice system," says

elley McLaughlin, the chief justice of Canada, said in a recent speech. "I find that as our age middle-class Canadians... The rich can get a lawyer, and the very poor [in Ontario, typically those who make \$15,000 a year or less] can get legal aid. But that vast group in-between are stuck. David Scott calls the law society (the lawyers' self-regulating body) should study the phenomenon to see if regulatory initiatives could improve access. "The middle class cannot afford this," he says.

Despite the rhetoric, self-represented litigants aren't just a 4th Order factor with a briefcase. Today, they come from all walks of life. But as Augustine can attest, her courts simply weren't designed to accommodate them. "We have an adversarial system of justice. It is based on having two experienced lawyers presenting their case to the judge," says Allen Winkley, an assistant professor with

legal profession itself that's driving it.

At the Superior Court of Justice in Toronto, clerks are increasingly sending the unrepresented to Law Help Ontario, a two-year pilot project launched in late 2007 to help people represent themselves in court. People can get help filling out documents and free legal advice from volunteer lawyers, who sometimes appear in court on a litigant's behalf. In the first nine months of last year, the centre helped about 2,500 people. The province is about to embark on its first civil and legal needs assessment, says Lynn Hines, executive director of Pro Bono Law Ontario, which runs the centre. "Starting a centre like this, you realize how many people were falling through the cracks," she says.

Loretta Corcoran is one of them. After representing herself for almost three months in

the courts, as a cheaper alternative to full representation, lawyers might be hired just to help complete a document, or coach a client before he goes to court. Already people in the U.S., "unbundled" legal services are now taking off here. Law societies in B.C. and Alberta have promoted them as an access to justice initiative, but lawyers tend to benefit. So, says Taha, a California-based expert on unbundled legal services, has addressed Canadian lawyers on the subject. "I tell them, 'If you want to learn how to tap into a completely new pool of clients, listen up,'" she says.

Even the courts themselves are being to change the way they operate. "We need to look at the way they operate," says Justice Winkley. Ontario recently announced changes aimed at streamlining the judicial system, though Ontario's reforms were driven by the needs

of the CBA's National magazine, wrote an editorial outlining the possibility that we're headed toward a "post-lawyer justice system."

To Allen Winkley, that's a state of affairs, one that arrives a blow against one of the most fundamental rights in any democracy: access to effective justice. "People need lawyers," Winkley says. "People stay without them, but they do so at a cost." Purchasing an attorney for a short-term appearance is hardly a solution, adds Frank Addario, president of the Criminal Lawyers' Association. "A civil is an accident, dynamic event," he says. "Lawyers can pick up the pieces and give you a case. You don't get that with self-representation."

As Ontario's chief justice, Warren Winkley has often said his own personal litigation case law is "anything that makes a case for people to access the system, I say it's good."

How, however, making self-representation easier "is a band-aid approach," he says. "It's loaded with complications." In fact, Winkley cautions in the final of a much bigger problem. "I think our goal should be to turn the trend around: trainee lawyers, and the justice system in its traditional sense, more accessible," he says. "Then, the problem would go away."

As for Augustine, her own legal problems did eventually go away—once she found a lawyer. After over a year of representing herself and getting nowhere, she heard about Downtown Legal Services, which provides a service to full representation. "Then, law students, under

the guidance of a lawyer, worked closely with her on the file. What I wanted to go to court, the representing lawyer represented her. "The encouraging [my ex-lawyer to back down,] Augustine says. "It was a leveling playing field."

A level playing field might allow more people to see justice. Today, though, it seems increasingly reserved for the lucky, and the rich. ■

This is the first in a five-part series of stories on the crisis in Canada's legal system.

LAWYER NATALIE HULLINS (left) volunteers with Law Help Ontario, helping people who lack representation



LAWYERS CHARGED \$130 AN HOUR ON AVERAGE IN 2005. NOW IT'S \$220.

a lawsuit against her former lawyer, she turned to Law Help Ontario. The centre gave her the information she needs, and she was able to sue a judge. "The legal system is a oligopoly," says Gussler. "It's not a member of the oligopoly, it's hard to represent yourself."

The first legal self-help centres opened in Vancouver in 2005. Alberta now has three such centres, with more to come. A recent report on P.I.'s unrepresented litigants recommended setting up a centre there, too. Diana Lewis is executive director of the Canadian Forum on Civil Justice, whose report on the trend was instrumental in designing Alberta's self-help centres. "Someone does have a lawyer trained in the traditional sense, so they have the access to someone who can give advice," she says.

Meanwhile, a growing number of private practice lawyers are also helping the unrepresented—often for free. They're offering services

of the unrepresented, "they will help the unrepresented, because it will make the system work more quickly, and at a lower cost," says Corcoran. Osborne, former associate chief justice of Ontario, whose report was the basis for reforms. Next year, Ontario's judicial council (where lawyers aren't generally necessary) will start accepting cases of up to \$25,000, up from \$10,000.

All this has got people in the legal community doing some serious soul searching. In June, Jordan Porcup, editor-in-chief of



CHARITY HOMES TURN INTO ROACH HOTELS

The residents of Harvey Girls, Fla., are delighted when the charity habitat for humanity built them a housing estate a few years ago. Volunteers built 48 houses in 10 days. Now a lawyer representing the owners is suing Habitat, saying the estate was built partly on a garbage dump, resulting in cockroach infestations, mildew and skin rashes. Says one resident, "This house looks pretty but inside it's like a roach or nest."

clock would run through the third period. The game would end quickly, and Lidstrom would be salvaged. "He made sure it was done, and that was it," recalls his brother, Rick Tavares.

While he let up minor hockey, it's been in Oshawa, where he played for the Generals of the Ontario Hockey League for the past four seasons, that Tavares has really put his mark on the game. The first to be granted "exceptional player" status, he entered the league at 14, a year earlier than normal. He broke Wayne Gretzky's junior record for most goals by a 16-year-old, with 72. Picked by many scouts to go first overall in the NHL entry draft in June, he's earned the title handed to only the very best players the Next One.

His agent, Pat Bremson, recalls first seeing his charge play in Oshawa as a 15-year-old. "He was always in the right spot. That's what set him apart from the rest," he says. "He's not the fastest skater, but he'll know how to make space by making the right moves with his shoulders and hands." So often, Tavares' goals look simple, as if he just happened on a loose puck and an empty net. That's not luck, but his ability to anticipate, says Mark Edwards, who heads Hockey Prospect, an independent scouting agency. Possessing, however, is only half the battle. What Tavares also brings is a wicked shot. He can smite the puck on his stick and let it go "with lightning-fast release and deadly accuracy," says Woodley.

Then there's the icing on the cake—his supernatural hand-eye coordination. Early in this world junior tournament, in a game against Slovakia, Tavares hit the post from his usual spot next to the net. He pulled his own rebound out of the air, juggled it on the end of his stick, and dropped past the startled goalie. All before the puck hit the net. It was the type of play you have to see in person to fully appreciate. "It was playing for the Minnesota Timberwolves there for about two weeks," jokes Barb, referring to her son's second-in-command spot, Lucero.

Tavares grew up looking two years ago to focus on his hockey, but he owns a lot to the game, says Barb, who rarely misses one of her son's matches. "Lucero is one of the greatest sports to sit at with hockey because of the hand-eye coordination and just the way they move the ball around," she says. In the fast-moving sport, possession is every thing. Players are taught to "test" the ball rather than turn it over, and that seems to have given Tavares the poise and confidence in hockey to hold on to the puck and make seven plays under pressure.

But for all his skill around the net, Tavares is still something of an enigma. As any hockey insider to draw a comparison to an established star and they will come up with widely differing answers. To some, he is Phil Esposito.

"JOHNNY 17" created his ice-time background for this. His most amazing goal



HE'S AN AVERAGE SKATER, BUT HE SHOOTS WITH A "LIGHTNING-FAST RELEASE AND DEADLY ACCURACY"

aro, the goal scoring king. Others, like his agent, Matt Harris to Luc Robitaille, who had a knack for being in the right spot. After some thought, Al Murray, Hockey Canada's head scout, lands on per laps the cleanest shot, Dale Hawerchuk—not the greatest skater, but a legendary finisher.

What's in still more to do for Tavares when he steps onto the first-pair NHL is the classic question. "From the back right in, he's got chances to be a really special player," says Nick Kypreos, a former NHLer and now a hockey analyst on Sportsnet. But Murray, like many, wonders if Tavares has what it takes to be that "once in a generation" player

Indeed, there were moments in the world junior when he seemed to fade into the background, even when he did his job as he was in control in the Russian game. He's also taken risk for a shot in mid-air in his last OHL season—seems up to his head after four years in the league.

Tavares, however, has worked hard to improve his shooting, says Edwards. And often forgotten in the analysis is his playmaking and passing ability. "He sees the ice well and puts the puck on your tape," says his Team Canada linemate, Angelo Sapota. In today's NHL, where so much of the action takes place while cycling the puck in the corners, Tavares could be in his element. "He's got this knack of finding that little hole and exploiting that hole to get the puck to the net," says Michael Oke, who coached Tavares in his first year in Oshawa, and who is now chief scout with the International Scouting Services.

The gold medal game against Sweden wasn't the answer. He had an assist but no goals, and some net misses in front of the net. But in the much anticipated rematch with Swedish star Niklas Lidstrom—hear him for support as the NHL draft—Tavares was by far the superior player. "This opportunity comes once in a lifetime," he said before the game, one of his favored media themes. "We go out there and give it your all and leave nothing out there." Lidstrom came out flat, and was clearly frustrated by the aggressive play of Tavares. Canada. And while he stumbled, Tavares proved—just as he has in every step of his young career, says Oke. "Every time he's challenged, he seems to rise up and meet that challenge." At the end of the game, Tavares was named the tournament MVP. As his teammates bellowed might as well be there over any other.

Not even Tavares' own brother, Rick, is sure. "He's got a lot of talent, but he's got to prove it," says Rick. "He's got to prove he's got the skill to be a star." But Murray, who has seen Tavares play for years, is confident. "He's got the skill to be a star," says Murray. "He's got the skill to be a star."

SHORTEST SOCCER PERFORMANCE 'NO BIG DEAL'

A British soccer player has broken the world record for getting kicked out of a game. David Dault, a striker for Chippewham Town, was given a red card just three seconds into a game after he tackled Chris Knowles (who was unkut). The previous record holder was Bologna star Giuseppe Lorenico, who managed to get 10 seconds into a game before receiving a red card back in 1993. Said an A.S. Fiorentina: "The world record is not a big deal for us."

PHOTO BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS



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MR. HOCKEY FIGHTS ON

Gordie Howe's sad, bitter scrap with his business partners

BY CHARLIE COLLIER • Gordie Howe was serious—and more than a little sinister. He had just parted company with hockey time lieutenant manager, Del Ruddy, after a heated dispute over Ruddy's strategy that had allegedly gotten physical. The fight was in January, and some seven hours before the white-haired hockey legend was supposed to board a plane for a public appearance in Vancouver, the young man Ruddy had hired years ago to accompany Howe on such excursions, Aaron Howard, was nowhere to be found. "I've called him four or five times," Howe lamented to his close friend Felix Carr, worry ing the legend of his cult hero as the two waited in Carr's office in Troy, Mich. "He doesn't answer."

So Carr started making some calls of his own, at length going through to Howard, who tersely informed them that he had resigned. Carr's next call went to Howe's son Marty and Mark, who underscored the importance of their father's public appearances—even at the age of 86. Mr. Hockey never stands up his butt. Alarmed, the brothers rushed to the scene from their homes in Connecticut and over those next few days in May 2006, when they brought the legend's Godfather-in-Mitch accompanied him back to Vancouver, while Mark began affixing through the capital courts for Howe's experiences at corporate events and arranging sessions to figure out where his dad was supposed to go next.

What he found, says Mark, came as a "seemingly and total shock." Some of the agree ments had been made out not to Howe's company, Power Play International, but to a firm called Innomax Investments, which was controlled by Ruddy and his father, Michael. A well-respected charity established by the Howe family years ago had given away to a mysterious new entity with Ruddy and How-ard as possessors of authority. Moreover, Mark was supposed to learn, Gordie's share in it

successful junior hockey franchise, the Van cover Giants, had been simply sold off. "For the next month, two months, I was in there trying to find out what had gone on," he recalls. "The more I found out, the more difficult it became."

The information he gathered would form the basis of a lawsuit alleging that Ruddy and Howard had breached some US\$13M, 1990 from Howe's agreements with their own company. All of this money went to Innomax, the suit claimed, with some smaller, additional amounts from Ruddy's appearances went to the new charity. Ruddy and Howard countered with their own defense, insisting, and after 12 months of wrangling, the two sides said at last filed in the court-house papers. Their last minute move leaves some unresolved financial terms not yet disclosed, and the Howes' most emotional doubts of fraud and conspiracy were never resolved at all. The litany was content stated with an inspection reviewed instead of their father's name, along with the unexplained line a line that is now his stock in trade.

Still, the court filings affixed a view of Gordie Howe's world in recent years that will shatter his adoring fans. With his wife and former business guru, Colleen, inseparably dependent, hockey's superstar senior American found his affairs in the hands of men who seemed to have taken Ruddy and Howard down the relationship as "more the family than business." But behind the scenes, the Howes argued, Del Ruddy had become a kleptomaniac, in times volatile figure who on more than one occasion physically assaulted Gordie by shoving him—the last time being during their argument over pay. "This alleged incident between Del Ruddy and Gordie Howes supports the plaintiff's claim that Del Ruddy sought to control Gordie Howes," wrote Judge Steven Andrews of Michigan's Oakland County Circuit Court in his decision to allow the lawsuit case to proceed.

Neither the Ruddy nor Aaron Howard responded to interview requests, and their lawyer declined to comment on his clients'



about people who deal with the Howes during this period told *Maxwell's* similar stories of Ruddy's insatiable temper. Four individuals said they'd been on the receiving end of his tirades, one said Ruddy actually began shoving him in anger. Mark Howe, a Hall of Fame player who now scouts for the Detroit Red Wings, declined to go into detail about the purported assault on his father, which were described in court documents as shoving incidents. But he did say the encounter at Howe's home was proof in Ruddy's departure. "If I had a confrontation of any sort like that with [Wings'

division and a lot more money than many of his fellow men earned during the same era. When Howe arrived in 1966, Colleen was creating a thriving business marketing his post-career fame to support the family and his charitable causes. Gordie Howe Enterprises became Power Play International, a company dedicated to all things Howe: books, hockey schools, autographed jerseys, bubble-head figurines, signed photos, appearances at golf tournaments and so on.

As the business grew, and age took its toll, Colleen decided the needed help, and in 1995 she recruited on a break young man who had



ALLEGATIONS INCLUDED 'ASSAULT'—IN ESSENCE SHOWING MATCHES



A DETROIT RED WINGS HOCKEY COO AND TONY'S GORDIE HOWE (left) and the second (Howard), Gordie Howe talks to the press last year.

owner Mike) Bunch or [general manager] Kerry Halliday," he said, "my job would be in jeopardy to say the least."

That Gordie had meekly accepted his wife's financial control since was no surprise to those familiar with the couple's marital partnership. For decades, "Mrs. Hockey" had been the engine behind the legend, parlaying her husband's glory years with the Detroit Red Wings into a vibrant life at the upstart World Hockey Association

It was about this time that Colleen's memory began fading, and in 2002, Gordie announced he wished her diagnosed with Pick's disease, a form of progressive dementia similar to Alzheimer's. Organized as one, she had already begun grooming Ruddy to run the business. The rest of the Howe clan was less than thrilled with her choice. "I don't know if any of the children, the family, were very receptive of Del," says Mark, who spoke for his father and the family for this story. "We had reservations." But they respected his judgment, he said, and went back to their own busy lives.

For business associates and friends, the transition to Ruddy's control changed everything. "Del was unbelievably difficult," says Henrik Brennersten, a Toronto memorandum dealer who has dealt extensively with the Howes since he got into the business in 1984. Ruddy isn't a big man, but his presence radiated a no-nonsense, no-holds-barred aura, Brennersten explains. "When I put an ad in the *Hockey News* wishing Gordie a happy

75th birthday, I thought Del would appear in it. Instead, I got pulled at. He wanted to know why the ad didn't mention Colleen."

It was typical of Ruddy's hair-trigger temper, and his seeming preoccupation with paperwork details and number-crunching minutiae. All printed references to "Mr. Hockey" or "Mrs. Hockey" required registered trademark symbols, say former clients—however useful the name would be to go. Yet that sense of partnership didn't extend into Ruddy's personal treatment of Gordie, say former Brian Elmerston, whose company former Sports Marketing has worked closely with the Howes, recalls one evening in 2001, after a Howe tribute evening at Toronto's upscale Rossmore Supper Club. "Gordie, on the way out, he was standing right in front of Gordie saying, 'Well, you should get a lot of stuff signed now because Gordie's not getting any younger,'" sports Gordie, it was just water off a duck. He didn't do it. But that was Del." For many in the Howe orbit, the elder brings the relationship was Howard, why his ability young man whose brother had been working for the Howes in 1989, and would later take the Colleen with parting him out a path to success. "She taught me more of the most important lessons in my life," he is quoted as saying in a 2004 book about the Howes. "I learned to respond and treat people with kindness and care.... I learned that money was not the most important thing in life."

Yet no amount of good will toward Howard could ease the increasing strain Ruddy's outbursts were creating among Howe's friends and family. Brennersten describes an incident five years ago at a party marking the 10th anniversary of his Toronto team, Proton Head Alvin Miller. At the event had games off on the wrong foot with Ruddy, Brennersten recalls. "He pointed to Del and said, 'What's wrong with that guy? I said, 'Ah, Del's just being a prick. Keep your distance.' Well, Aaron heard it and told Del. The next thing I know, Del's grabbing me by the arm and pulling me out the back door of the room, saying, 'I heard what you said?' Then he starts shoving me against the wall. I said, 'You're being a prick. You're showing it right now. It's a celebration. Be nice to people.'"

Brian Howes seemed to be growing impatient with his manager. Once passed among the most accurate upon Howes, he increasingly found himself offensively disappointed. Signing events, where fans were required to purchase specific items, and to come up for a selfie with the legend. Howes had filed out the instructions, says Carr. He had to run with his fans, posing for photos with his famous gloves up, spinning yarns about hand

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knights games. Gave me a copy, where a boy was wheel chair, to shake Gordie's hand. "Did you want to shake Gordie's hand, go buy a book and stay in line."

In that case, as in others, the highlight would turn out to be a 2004 book about the Howes whose mere existence would later become a divisive issue in court. Mr. & Mrs. Hockey was an anthology of tributes to the Howes. But it will never rank as a must-have hockey tome. Published by Immaculate Investments, the firm owned by Reddy and his father, it is riddled with editing errors and broken syntax. The text is also case with ready sentiment while the photo pages are composed largely of snap-and-grin candid shots from Howe's public appearances—many of them featuring Reddy and Howard. But in the 15,601 copies produced were severely flawed for bookstores shelves. Plus at some events got a signed copy for free if they purchased, say, an autographed photo for \$300, said several sources familiar with the transaction. On other occasions, the photos or bookshelves were free as long as fans bought the book, whose cover price was US\$49.99.

No matter what the arrangement, sources told Maclean's, organizers of the events were required to write cheques directly to Immaculate, even though the real value so fans pay in

Howe's signature. "Who would buy the book without Gordie signing it?" asks one. "I mean, it was a brutal book. It seemed to me like it was being promoted [by Howe] for free."

For Mark Howe, the book was cause for serious concern. The complaint he eventually filed in November 2007 claimed that Reddy and Howard had advised any client who wanted a Gordie Howe appearance that they had to buy copies of the tribute book, but that Howe had never been properly compensated for promoting them. "It was major-

ity of the 2004 campaign here the entire payment for Gordie Howe's appearance going entirely to Immaculate," the suit said. "Immaculate has not reimbursed Gordie Howe for the funds it has illegally converted" (society who gained what from sales of Mr. & Mrs. Hockey remains unclear to this day, as both discover materials from the court case were sealed; a source familiar with the terms of the settlement told Maclean's that all existing copies are bound for the shredder).

That was just the beginning of the Howes'

DYNASTY: Gordie Howe with sons Marty (left) and Mark (right) at an Oilers game in Houston



case against their former employers. The lawsuit also claimed that Reddy and Howe had created a charitable foundation in Colleen's name with themselves and three family members as officers—ostensibly to fund the rest of her care should Gordie die. But deposits to the fund came from Gordie Howe's signature and public appearances, the complaint alleged, and neither he nor Colleen's name was a cost of the money. The Howes were similarly suspicious of a project called "Kings of Their Sports," in which Howe had posed for photos with other sporting greats, including Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus. The project was funded with Power Play money, the Howes contended, yet Power Play received only \$15,000 for the 1,000 photos produced and autographed. Given that the photos currently sell for between \$150 and \$350, that was presumably a tiny fraction of what the photos fetched.

Then there was the Vancouver Courts deal. According to the Howe's suit, Reddy in 2005 told Gordie that Power Play was having financial difficulties, and needed to raise cash to help pay for Colleen's care. Ron Tago, the majority owner of the Western Hockey League team, told Maclean's Reddy approached him with the same story, and set up a deal for

Howe to sell his five per cent share back to the other owners. The sale netted Howe US\$200,000, court documents show. But the Howes contend that Gordie was not in

AARON HOWARD, Del Reddy, Howe, Kevin McCarty, Colleen Howe with Steven Kirkpatrick (left)



HER MEMORY FAILING, COLLEEN GROOMED REDDY TO TAKE OVER

financial distress at all. Reddy and Howard made the move, the suit alleged, to enhance Power Play's bottom line so they could collect bonuses and "other financial rewards" due to them if Power Play did well.

Not surprisingly, the Reddy-Howard

camp offered an alternative version of events. In a series of court filings over the past year, they denied breaching their duties of trust and honesty to Howe, claiming that Gordie had verbally consented to the book and photo projects. Reddy denied selling Tago that Gordie was in financial trouble, noting that Marty Howe signed off on the Courts deal, while Howard said that Immaculate had a "partnership" with Power Play, which allowed it to write contracts in Power Play's behalf that Gordie "verbally endorsed on numerous occasions."

Their contention cast Mark Howe as best as depicting their lawsuit as a power play. In particular, Del Reddy argued that a story about the Howes' suit in the *Hockey News* torpedoed his chance to land a proposed TV show called *Champs*, which was to be produced by Mike Ditka, Jr. Worse, he claimed, he was unable to apply his expertise with the Howes elsewhere in the sport. "I believe I had a realistic expectation of obtaining work as professional hockey," he said.



BET THAVAN/COMIX & COURTESY OF SUPER MEDIA PHOTOGRAPHY BY ROBERT TROMA

"Nobody really was doing three things like the Howes." The words are Mark Howes', and they offer us good explanation as you'll get to why—being married to a proceedings with all guns blazing—the Howes gladly settled the day the trial was to begin. For all the witnesses used to evidence (did Reddy's shortstories, the apocryphal of Gordie on the stand clearly scored the Howes boys' Their father's memory was breaking down, Mark now acknowledges, he was easily confused about times, dates and details. "I sat with him through a day of deposition and it was a joke," Howes says. "All I ever told dad to make it easy for me was to tell the truth. That it wasn't the

ings. In court, Joel Newman, Reddy and Howard's attorneys, claimed "it's right to do crime what he said about our crimes, that he thinks they are innocent, that he doesn't think they have stolen from him, that they were his family to him."

In the end, the Howes weren't complain about the deal they got (though they certainly would disagree on the terms). Neither was new costs, and the agreement came with an impressive forbidding Reddy and Howard from "possessing, using, selling, storing, or in any way profiting from" any chance hearing the Howes name. Some were for the 15-foot book and the "Signs of Their Sports" photos, the remainder of



KILL BOARS FOR CASH

Alberta puts a bounty on its wild, furry pigs

BY NICHOLAS BÖHLER • Impens it in the early 1990s, along with other cattle-breeds like ostrich and alpaca, wild boars were supposed to help diversify Alberta's energy-heavy economy. Instead, they escaped to farm and deer and began haunting ranches. Bear ranchers in the Alberta wild are now estimated at between 1,600 and 1,900, the charges of farmers who find them greedy for their crops and prone to accidents. In response, Alberta has declared every boar persona non grata under the Agricultural Pests Act and, last month, put a bounty on their heads: \$10 to anyone who proves a kill by presenting solid evidence in photo plus skin with a pair of boar ears.

Alberta already very much pro-venom control. It bans a Hunting Day (Sept. 22), and a government-run "nut print" has jobbed the Saskatchewan border since 1990 to keep out rats. In Lac Ste. Anne County, 120 km northwest of Edmonton, a pilot project running since 2003 has already brought in 577 pairs of rats; they are kept in a bridge pen to be disposed.

For weeks, Geoff Thompson, a county agricultural field man, has been involved with cattle from hunting a rhinoceros orate with news of the boars. "They're body mail in issued like they're wild boars running around everywhere," he says. "That's certainly not the case." Mostly because the cull is already pushing the pigs deeper into the wild.

Normal, clever and frequently shy, boar can weigh as much as 200 kg, yet are spry enough to vanish unseen into the brush. Earl Hagman, who often bears boar in his Midgets, says, "A Hog Wild Specialties outfit, as well as calling the meat 'pork like grandpa used to eat,'" says boar is unlike any game in Alberta. "The hunter goes after the boar and—sometimes—the boar goes after the hunter." Work makes one wonder—what's the bounty on Albertans as the boar wears? ■



From the landmark book *Grow Young with HGH*, comes the most powerful, over-the-counter health supplement in the history of man. Human growth hormone was first discovered in 1930 and has long been thought by the medical community to be necessary only to stimulate the body to full adult size and then to maintain secondary (not the age of 20). Recent studies, however, have overturned this notion completely, discovering instead that the natural decline of Human Growth Hormone (HGH), from ages 35 to 65 (the average age at which there is only a trace left in the body) and is the reason why the body gets old and fails to regenerate itself in its 25-year-old biological age.

Like a picked flower cut from the season, we gradually wilt physically and mentally and become vulnerable to a host of degenerative diseases, that we simply weren't susceptible to in our early adult years.

Modern medical science now regards aging as a disease that is treatable and preventable and that "aging," this disease, is actually a complication of various diseases and pathologies. Like it is in blood glucose and pressure in diabetes, skin wrinkling and so on. All of these aging symptoms can be stopped and rolled back by administering Growth Hormone levels in the blood at the same level HGH existed in the blood.

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When we were 25 years old, there's a receptor in almost every cell in the human body for HGH, so its regenerative and healing effects are very comprehensive.

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Many in Hollywood's glamour sets, who must seem to age like you or I, have a special access to it, and even space pioneer and 155 Senator John Glenn says said with HGH.

The next big breakthrough was to come in 1997 when a group of doctors and scientists, developed an all-natural source product which would cause your own natural HGH to be released and use all the remarkable changes it did for you in your 20's. Now available in every health food store at the price of a coffee and a diet a day.

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IT WASN'T IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF MY FATHER TO GO TO COURT

The best interest of my father to go to court? I'm sure the other side knew that too."

Indeed, the other side was so flustered by the deposition Gordie gave last July they sought to mistrial the transcript public. They failed. Judge Anderson ordered most of the testimony sealed. Its details that emerged in subsequent legal arguments against Gordie was faulty during the deposition on what the case had been launched, and that he would end his former employees to be basically entitled people. "Throughout his deposition, Mr. Howes admitted that many of the factual allegations of the complaint were simply untrue," the defendants argued in their brief.

has all but disappeared from the post-mortem marketing scene. Howard, for his part, was still trying to find work. No news told the court.

Name of this makes Mark Howes replied, "I hope those guys move on and enjoy their lives," he says, managing not to sound like a traitor. But he's not exactly crying a river either. His father has moved on—or more accurately, reverted to previous state, which pleases his sons to use. "If there's some guy string in the bowels of Joe Louis Armitage who wants Gordie's autograph, and he wants to sign it, I have no problem with that," says Mark. "We're just letting Gordie be Gordie." ■

THE BIG SQUID? HIS TEARS TELL A TALE

As Anting of Luyang, China has become a celebrity in his nation for his traditional collagen pills. But instead of using a traditional brush and black ink, Xu socks under his nose three "fish" Chinese characters for "swimming" the water out of his eyes. Recently he wrote "Furrow as well as the sea" with his "fish" before a crowd at his seminar past. Xu claims he can apply water from his eyes a distance of more than three metres.



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The new HGH releases are winning converts from the synthetic HGH sales as well. Some GHR is just as effective for its weight gain in oral instead of self-injectable and is very affordable.

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Progressive doctors admit that this is the direction medicine is going, so get the body to be itself instead of employing drugs. GHR is truly a revolutionary paradigm shift in medicine and, like any medicine-breaking advance, many others will be left in the dust behind their limited, as useful as drugs and remedies.

It is now thought that HGH is no comprehensive in his healing and regenerative power. It is in today, where the computer industry was twenty years ago, that it will replace many prescription and non-prescription drugs and health remedies that it is staggering to think of.

The president of BIC Health Products, stated in a recent interview: "I've been waiting for these products since the '70's. We know they would come, if only we could stay healthy and live long enough to use them! If you want to stay on top of your game, physically and mentally as you age, this product is a bonus, especially for the highly skilled professionals who have made huge investments in their education and experience. Also with the state of the health care system in Canada which appears to be going into serious decline, it's time to invest more than ever to take pro-active steps to safeguard your health. Continued use of GHR will make a radical difference in your health. HGH is primarily helpful to the elderly who, given a choice, would rather stay independent in their own homes, slowing healthy and able enough to manage their own affairs, exercise and enjoy involvement in the communities. Fresh, age 35 into two miles a day, physical peak, belongs to a doctor who has patients, but a girl (read again) and I need more effective drugs, good but doctors and it is hardly ever when we've used GHR delivers.

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THE BACK PAGE

name

That Michael
Stuart
Parker

taste

Plastic bag
home cooking
Parker

help

Personal
mister helms
Parker

film

Owner's new
male secret
Parker

music

Unlucky
Hayden
Parker

design

Dishwasher
wore
Parker

tv

A woman runs down the streets of New York wearing nothing but underwear and a bloody coat. An aging billionaire is shot dead in the middle of a field, only to turn out he's not dead at all. A high-powered lawyer (is there any other kind?) puts out fires on other lawyers and occasionally his dogs misbehave. Of course we're talking about a high-class cable drama. *Damages*, returning for a second season just in on Showtime, is the story of an amoral super-lawyer named Patty Hewes (Gloria Clooney), often guilty of brutal sex, violence, and when Allen Couler, the director of the pilot, calls "suspense down by person." "It also has one of the best casts on television and has won acting Emmys for Clooney and supporting actor Zoltan Ferencik as a lawyer with a bad southern accent, this season will

a potential witness in Patty's big client action suit against disgraced billionaire Arthur Frohner (Ted Danson). Ellen starts out believing that she can balance lawyering with old-fashioned values like love and trust, but by the end of the first season, she's a shrewd, cynical wreck on her way to becoming so cold and calculating as Patty.

In some ways it's a stunner version of *The Devil Wears Prada* with Clooney instead of Meryl Streep—and as far as Hollywood is concerned, the two of them are probably interchangeable. Today's shows often shy away from over-the-top plot twists and vilify Patty—who explains her disdain as a mother by saying, "Kids are like clerks, they want all of you, all the time"—it like a modern-day Joan Collins in *Dynasty*. Finally, after all the complex and commented-on heroes, we have melodrama without cutesies.

as a grave-looking distraught—but whose grace is off) or an act of gruesome violence, like Ellen stabbing a manure with a letterbox knife, or Patty walking into her office to find that a fellow lawyer has blown his brain out. It's the kind of hard content you would have found in early basic-cable dramas like *Silk Stalkings*, but with better production values and fewer moments like "Mimi Kapour" as the case. Instead of the usual platitudes that dominate most cable dramas, this show tells us to relax, sit back and enjoy seeing awful people fighting for no other cause except winning. It's like *As The World Burns* shot on high definition.

And yet even so it offers all this entertaining depravity. *Damages* has managed to make sure a certain respectability, even an artistic facade, that keeps it from descending into truly brutality. It does this not so much

CRUELLA DE LAWYER

A strange mix of art and trash, with the heat cast on TV, 'Damages' leaves good-for-you legal shows in the dust BY JAIMIE J. WEINMAN

add William Hurt and Martin Gray Harden. And yet it's not really a big—at least not yet. Though the U.S. network FX has picked it up for two more 11-episode seasons, John Landgraf, the president of FX, has said that "the ratings are pretty middling." What has this world come to when a trashy, addictive, superbly acted legal soap opera can't get a mere audience?

We're used to *Grey's*, winning cable dramas having progressive, respectable messages, like *Mad Men's* condemnation of '60s sexism or *The Wire's* outcry against social injustice. But *Damages*, from creator Todd Kunder, Gloria Kunder and David Zelnick (Debra Messing's husband), often seems disposable but includes masterfully satisfying messages, career-wise as in every liberal issue we put a foot for madhouse ambition, and almost no one is good or trustworthy. The central conflict of the show is between Patty, Hollywood's perfect embodiment of the evil career-obsessed woman, and young lawyer Ellen Parsons (Rose Byrne of *Sex Wars Attack of the Clones*), whose fiancé's sister is

Everything about *Damages*—its structure, its writing, and its casting—is designed to play up the sense that anything goes, no matter how legitimate or malodorous, as long as it gives us a job. The show relies on a complex system of time jumps, often confining the issue of when a particular scene takes place. Couler says that in the pilot it was difficult "keeping track of what was present tense and what was past tense." But for the most part, *Damages* doesn't use this time manipulation to make the characters more complex; it uses flashbacks and flash forwards to tease us with horrifying images. Season one started with Ellen being accused of murdering her fiancé, and then jumped back in time to tell the story of how she got to that point, then two also began by jumping forward, to show Ellen brandishing a gun at a potential victim.

So whenever things get slow in an episode of *Damages*, we're sure to see either a time jump that promises something juicy (Patty's **GLORIA CLOONEY** (opposite) and **ROSE BYRNE** (right) play calculating lawyers in *Damages*)





through the lessons the character learns—Ellen says she's learned to "trust no one," but that's not exactly new as he plays with our expectations and preoccupations of what a legal drama should be. "If you were to say, 'Would you like to do a show about lawyers?'" Coulter says, "my first response would be no, because it's such a tired subject." But even to Denzels incorporates many of the clichés of the industry, it explodes the clichés of the lawyer show.

For one thing, it rarely ventures inside a courtroom. It's about political settlements and negotiations, not jury trials. For another

the law has nothing to do with justice, it's more of a personal game for the powerful people involved. It's a grim, cynical message, but at least it's different.

This is part of a new style of cable show that has been emerging in television. In the last few years a strange mix of art and trash, TV for the poor: HBO was HBO became the cable channel for people who wanted TV to be art instead of trash. Its shows have mostly been occasionally brilliant and often where the writers avoid typical TV storylines (big twists including questionable battles) and ask huge questions about society and the meaning of life. As HBO has started to sag under the weight of its own ambitions—with expensive but little-watched shows like *In Treatment* failing to replace *The Sopranos* in the

rest one for its basic cable head, especially after the departure of its flagship show, the darkest city drama *The Shield*. If *Damages*, with its great cast and assembly savvy the managers, can become a hit, then there's a future for this kind of hybrid of art and trash, of cheap opens and gorgeous thrills. *It is, it is*, we might be back with a better brand of drama as well, good for you drama like *The Mindy Project*.

So why hasn't *Damages* taken off yet? In interview, Landgraf has suggested that it's because the show came along at a time when audiences prefer not to have to follow a mystery for 13 episodes. "This kind of very nuanced, very dense, serialized show doesn't suit the current competitive environment," he said. The second season will try to get around that problem by offering more storylines, with at least two big ones for Patty as well as the story of Ellen working with the

'KIDS ARE LIKE CLIENTS,' PATTY SAYS. 'THEY WANT ALL OF YOU ALL THE TIME.'



TED DANSON in *Damages* (left), Emmy-winning *Mad Men* (center), and *Law & Order* (right)

thing, it plays fast and loose with the typical idea of what constitutes a good case, or a good person, in a lawyer drama. Patty spends the first season fighting for a cause that we'll normally consider good and moral, taking the side of a bunch of workers who were cheated by their boss. But she's so horrible, so willing to destroy anyone, that we know before the pilot is over that she's no better than the big businesspeople she's fighting. And she's hard-core: *It's a lie!* she tells the oil tycoon (interviewed after the Enron scandal, but now even more relevant as the age of Bill Madoff), because he tries to off her son and less visible than Patty, especially as played by the lovable Danson. "It's a shame being kind of a manipulative she, and yet you like her," Coulter says. "You have a complex response because of the prior work, which everybody is aware of."

This nasty attitude toward the law and the people who practice it is a nice antidote to shows like *Law & Order* and even sometimes like *Judge Adams*, where we spend the whole first episode learning how wonderful it is to see the law for a good purpose. In between all the nasty plot twists and double crosses, *Damages* slips down those other shows and tells us, as Dickens did in *Oliver Twist*, that

public's affection—FOX is trying to provide an alternative, something that's less edgy than HBO (they can't see the *Twist*, for as they think, though they can see the *Twist* as much as they want) but that has what Coulter calls "a sensibility that is a little bleak, and perhaps more jaundiced and cynical than one would find represented on a standard network."

One of the reasons why FOX has made a three-season commitment to the show despite the so-so ratings, may be that it's the perfect

TV to destroy her, the fine line viewer might have more things to focus on. But the case will still be telling the show's end: much blood, cheating and mystery as before. Zalko isn't his dad's southern lawyer character is even coming back to haunt Patty, though unlike Katherine Heigl on *Gory Anatomy*, Patty won't be sleeping with him. Or will she? With *Damages*, you can never count on any plot twist, however wild. It's implausible melodrama with a respectable benefit: the best of both TV worlds. ■



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"Bernie Madoff has been charged with embezzling people out of \$50 billion. I don't want to say he's a monster, but looking at he was walking in New York, he passed a manager named and Joseph from a scandal at him." —Jay Leno

"Every New Year's in Times Square, they drop the ball. Not this year. Angry investors are dropping Bernie Madoff off a building." —David Letterman



MACLEANS
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL.



COHEN, shown here circa 1980, spent 15 years writing *Hallelujah*, which was first released on his 1984 album *Various Positions*.

What's with that song 'Hallelujah'?

Leonard Cohen's masterpiece has become the closest thing pop music has to a sacred text

BY BRIAN D. JOHNS • Leonard Cohen spent almost two years writing *Beautiful Losers*, blackening two notebooks with some 30 phrases before finally settling on a few that pleased him. He once told a British journalist, "I remember being on the floor of the Royal Albert Hall [in Manhattan], on the carpet in the audience, banging my head on the floor saying 'I don't think this song.' " He did, eventually, but the song was finished with him. Since *Beautiful Losers* first released in 1966 about Vermont Fanny, it has been received by over 100 critics, including Bob Dylan, James, and Jeff Buckley, but it has gained sound-track mileage from *Barbie* to *The OC*. As last month, after Cohen had railed from financial ruin to tragic a millionaire world war, his comeback was heralded with a Halcyon chorus that were through the roof:

Producers *Good Fads* (the U.K. version of *American Idol*) paid \$13 million to use the song for their contest finale. And a gospel-funk version performed by the winner, 31-year-old Alexander Burke, became the fastest-selling download in internet history, according to Nielsen SoundScan. "It was the first time that the president of the United States [Bush] had the first of his children sing at the White House," says Burke. Then producer of Burke's version joined the *Idol* act and pushed his recording into the No. 3 spot. Even Cohen's original track found a new life. iTunes No. 36.

The song has become pop music's doziest thing to do a sacred time. "Hallelujah is a beautiful meditation on love, sex, God and music," says Daniel J. Levitin, professor of psychology at McGill University, and the author of the bestselling book *The World as Six Songs: How the Human Brain Creates Musical Meaning*. "Lyrically it does what only Leonard Cohen can do, and do so effectively—combine his

universal truths and spiritual themes with the right here and right now."

The first verse is a love story from a different era of the Old Testament. The singer tells us that from cooking dinner, "I've heard there was a secret chord / That David played, and it pleased the Lord"—so laying a primer on an indifferent dame—"you don't really care for music do you?" And then he compares a modern scene of David again: as Rabinovich "basking on the roof" they reach out Samson and Delilah "She said to you to let down your hair / And before it's over, the sexual and the sacred have merged in a virtual dreamstate with the Holy Spirit." Now remember when I loved in you / It's like I'd love was moving us."

Methodically, the song performs a similar balancing act. "The music is traditional and modern at the same time," says Levine. "It has elements of 19th-century harmony—big classical forms—but the instrumentation is retro ballad *espagnole*, combined with modern harmonic moves." *Madrugada* is also a postmodern marvel, a song about music that explains its own melody—"the fourth, the fifth / the major third, the major fifth."

Among those who have tackled the song, John Cale picked up an indie pop revival with a 1990 piano/vocal cover that was used in *Shrek* (2001). But to the confusion of fans,

Rufus Wainwright sang the version on the *Shrek* soundtrack album. These new generations of fans discovered Buckley's rendition on The O.C. soundtrack. Buckley, who recorded it in 1994, said the song was about "the hal klopak of the organ." Backed by sparse guitar, and stretched to almost seven minutes, his yearning vocal took on angelic overtones after his death by overdose in 1997.

Pertains of rival versions have seen debate rising from the Internet to a seminar in a scholastic house on Haldenak, professor Alan Moore, a British musicologist at Surrey University, notes erudite theory of "agga gaudium" and "glorious" with instances of Web chat, such as: "Whatwight deserves to be beaten with sticks."

Despite the song's silliness, it can take all kinds of abuse. Its sanitized chorine raves a hint for the vocal gymnastics of pop singer *X*-Factor's Messiaha Burke, whose bombastic approach appalls the purists. Among the powerhouse interpretations, K.J. Yang's version stands out: When he performed it live at Cohen's induction into the Canadian Songwriters Hall of Fame in 2006—sitting the stage in bare feet and building a cathedral of sound as Cohen watched from the front row—it was electrifying. But it was even more inspiring to see Cohen participate the ballad on stage.

at the age of 79. As he scaled its methodic heights with that ancient baritone, taking dropshot aim at a Gohath of a song, Hailu's job had never sounded so heroic. ■

CHRISTOPHER CICCOMI

Madonna's gay brother wrote a scathing tell-all book about his sister last fall. Now he's taken aim at a former pal, David Moore. After reuniting at a *Katrina*-themed party, they became close friends. But he says as soon as Demi met actor Ashton Kutcher, she dropped him. "A certain kind of olé comes a gay man around like a handbag, like an accessory. And then once they find the right straight guy, they don't need a male companion any more."



IT'S AN ANTI-SEPTIC PROCESS: no antiseptics, aromas, lights or sounds. But the resulting cooking is perfectly even throughout, and tender

Steak in a plastic bag. Not so great.

The culinary process 'sous vide' is now available to the home chef. We tried it out.

BY JACOB SCHMIDLER • This fall Thomas Keller's long-awaited ode to cooking things in plastic bags, *Under Pressure*, went on sale at bookstores coast to coast. Thanks to the Internet, it is also now possible to have immersion circulators and chamber vacuum packing machines shipped to your home address. What all this means is that the revolutionary culinary process known as sous-vide, a favorite of hospital cafeterias and three-star Michelin restaurants everywhere, has at long last entered the domain of the domestic cook.

Most methods of cooking—from roasting to grilling, frying, poaching or steaming—involve the application of extreme heat to something new. And more often than not the task of getting things right comes down to separating the two, a long time before the compromise of the food reaches the table.

level is the heat source that is cooking it.

Slow rate cookery is different. It involves creating new product, vacuum sealed in a plastic bag, in a water bath so rapidly you might well consider dipping a toe in yourself. Internal food temperatures are intended to match those of the internal heat source, your primary weapon in time, not heat. The resulting cooking is perfectly even throughout.

The process has its origins in the fast-food industry, and its dramatic leap to applications

In hiser quarter, a uniquely triumphatory of French parsonage. In 1974, the great Pierre Traugott inaugurated a research project to cut back on the massive waste occurred when painting the five granite terraces; the answer was *color silk*, which simultaneously eliminated waste and generated a superior—faster—

The preferred *acacia* style set up involves a FL9000 ultraviolet sterilizer that both heats and circulates your water so as to perfectly maintain programmed temperatures throughout the tub. But as a nod to the tangent topic

instead find a far cheaper, if less precise, solution called "smart scale magic," available for US\$219.95 from www.fishmanusa.com (one of Toranzo's works like a thermostat, and is attached to a rice cooker [cookers can range from \$150 to \$1500], turning it on and off to maintain the desired temperature of the water within

My first experiment focused on steak. What executive chefs like about this particular application is that all meat can be cooked ahead of service to the desired degree—or degrees—of doneness. Then when an order is placed, any steak in the kitchen need simply select the correct pre-cooked version, flash-sear the outside, and complete the order with no possibility of error.

I cooked half a sockeye sock aside at 52° C. for an hour. Then I flash-seared it, and tasted it side by side with its other half, which I cooked

conventionally. By comparison, the sea milk stock tasted mildly unpleasant—sweeter, it seemed, despite the crimson colour I gave it, and colour, the charmingly deep, and called that David Lee. "What you need to do is take five small metal cookers at 10° C for an hour, another at 51° C, another at 31° C and so on, and then try them all side by side to see which tastes the way you like best," he said. "You'll find that I'm hanging up with an advanced understanding of Speculative prices, and opted to those on to each other. I limited one conventionally (saturated, red wine, etc.) and prepared the other sea milk at 62° C for five hours

New things were getting interesting: the braised lamb had lost its original palateness to the benefit of its braising liquid, which became its sauce. But the same old lamb was both fantastically tender and counterintuitively succulent because the vacuum seal and low heat had together conspired to keep its inner muscles right where they started. I will definitely be doing this again.

The biggest and easiest triumph was vegetable carving, for example, can be easily turned into phallus and realized with an evenness that you would otherwise need to spend years at cooking school to achieve. And I like that *What I Do on Sex* is the anti-sex process: no mixing around, rights or sounds. It is utterly joyless cooking, but that opinion may change when I master Keller's rare rule: prepared food of oil's heart with toasted pecans, baby corn ribs, Rene-Cherries and balsamic vinegar. M

TODAY'S SPECIAL...SALTY CARAMEL

The well-balanced combination of sea salt and sugar, with caramel has gone from fine-dining greenhouse to mass-market product. Once only found in elite chocolate shops and fine-diner restaurants, salty caramel gained wider fame after Barack Obama said he likes to snack on dark chocolate from Seattle, seasoned with smoked sea salt. Now mainstream brands such as B&W and Jerry's are making salty caramel ice creams.





FOUR WEEKS BEFORE: I wouldn't go near anyone—not family, not friends—who even thought they might have a cold," says one bride

The Paranoia of the winter bride

Terrified of a cold or the flu ruining the Big Day, these women aren't taking any chances

BY JOANNE LATIMER • See the women on the list, clutching bottles of hand sanitizer, fidgeting at work, chewing vitamin C tablets? They won't shake your hand or they won't touch the shopping cart in the grocery store. Who are they? They're the winter brides of 2008. And they're on germ lockdown.

"I'm really cautious in public. Everyone knows I'm about to get into a regular day," says Amy Brown, 36, who is getting married in Toronto on Feb. 28. Brown studies in her radio, *Planes for Life*, where there is a prominent sign on the door "In the interest of promoting health and wellness, please refrain from coming to class if you are ill." Brown doesn't ignore this sign to make Brown nervous. "I work closely with so many people that I'd had to avoid going. My friend, Jerzee, is a fire fighter, so he's very 'hands on' with people too and he gets sick every winter."

To improve their chances of dodging a cold before the Big Day, Brown and her sister started reducing their stress by getting professional massages. Then, as Christmas approached, with its mandatory social events, they upped their gear by consulting health professionals. "Startups have the strongest acid and osteoporosis can support your adrenal glands," advises Brown. "I was put on an immune-boosting regime and started acupuncture."

Myerbrook (Bibi) and Dave McCullum, from Covington, R.C., also rocked out. "We dosed high doses of vitamin C every morning and began looking up to the wedding," says Bibi. A December bride who got married in a 14° C weather often woke up to pink goggles at 9:30 a.m. for blackouts. "Of course, Dave and I got the day after the wedding."

Elyn Kirby and Jonathan Ansell tied the

knot in Toronto on Dec. 20. "For weeks before the wedding, I wouldn't go near anyone—not family, not friends—who even thought they might have a cold," recalls Kirby, laughing. "I didn't want to have red eyes and a red nose on my wedding day. I started taking high-dose vitamins of vitamin C. Well, I got a cold immediately after the wedding."

Like other, high-dose vitamin C users' enough, according to marriage John Dempsey. He has a cold and flu prevention program out of his house in Toronto, "I start treating brides one month prior to the wedding day," says Dempsey. "Planning a wedding elevates stress hormone called cortisol, which suppresses the immune system. Bacteria and viruses are everywhere—on doorbells, pens and hands. You can't kill every bug, but you can build up your body's defense system."

Dempsey does this by administering customized intravenous vitamin therapies. "Depending on the bride's own nutrition and stress levels, I prescribe up to three IVs per week," says Dempsey, who charges between \$95 and \$120 for a vitamin IV. "I recommend the case out all natural vitamins, which are full on your immune system. Remember, vitamin D1 is your friend. It's a great antioxidant and immune fighter."

Why not avoid germ lockdowns altogether

by getting married in the summer? "We've been to over 20 summer weddings," explains Brown. "They tend to blend together. We want something a little different." Kirby and Ansell preferred the risks of a winter wedding to worrying about rain in the summer. Alison McGill, editor in chief at *WeddingBells*, an online wedding magazine, is financially spending on the wedding. "Couple see significantly on the venue and photography," reports McGill, adding, "and guests really appreciate that winter weddings don't mean opulent a long weekend in the summer."

It all goes to explain the steady stream of winter brides who frequent health food stores across the country. John Haggins, owner of A Vita Store in Montreal, notes trends that take organic extracts. "It kills viruses, which cause colds, and it's more powerful than antibiotics," he advises. "That's also important to take 5000 IU of vitamin D3 every day, plus a good probiotic, and freeze-dried garlic. It's a great idea to eat frozen dried garlic, like macadamia, because it's full of probiotics."

Winter bride-to-be Tracy Will wasn't about to start getting sick and popping Frank's Red Hot. "I'm one of a bride-to-be than a bride-to-be," says Will, who's getting married on Feb. 18 in Toronto. "I'll get sick, I get sick. It's so much out of my control." Brown says to do it. "Why not do what you can do?" she asks. "I'm only planning on getting married once." ■



HOTTEST IMPROVED JEREMY PIVEN

The star of the TV series *Entourage* had to back out of playing in a revival of David Mamet's play *Glengarry Glen Ross* when he was plagued by dizziness and forgetfulness. His doctor found levels of mercury in his blood that were six times higher than normal. The human thermometer is getting it checked out levels be down, thanks to special treatments in Bangkok and reducing his two-day fast diet



TWO GLAMOROUS GUYS in a brass bed for ratings, Oscar picks nominees over victory by dodging Ace. Six men for Hugh Jackman

Desperate Oscar hires male escort

Just when it seemed the award show couldn't get worse, Hugh Jackman is chosen as host

BY BRIAN K. JOHNSON • As if we needed further proof that the Great Depression is upon us, the producers of Hollywood's most opulent showbiz extravaganza have decided that what a luxury it would be to have a male escort hired to accompany the women to the Oscars. After two decades of hiring comedians to MC the Oscars, in a bid to revive plummeting ratings the Academy has chosen a bank over a humorist. This year's Oscar host is Wolverine. Or, as the official code X-Men is known under his superhero franchise, Hugh Jackman.

Last year, the Oscars' TV ratings sank by 14 percent on an all-time low. This should surprise no one. The TV audience is fraying. And by the time the Oscars roll around, we've seen so many trophies handed out—from the Golden Globes to the People's Choice Awards—finger has run. The Oscars may be the only awards that matter, but the show has become a pageant of rhetoric and efficiency. The stakes are so carefully counted that as one makes wardrobe mistakes anyone, and especially has been rejected out of existence. But instead of blurring the show's lifeless production values, military pacing, and morbid rituals to the living dead, the Academy has ditched Jay Stewart—the bachelorette MC it's had in a while—and replaced him with a vocal pretty boy.

Stewart, who had the gig for two years, was an anti-hero, an outsider who unspooled and deflated the Oscars at the same time. The two go hand in hand: the MC is Oscar's voice and his courtier. Jackman looks more like a male escort. Oscar has always been the gold standard of celebrity courtesy; it's sad to see him deflated by tabloid journalists.

Currently wearing in a beehive cowboy in America, a 35-year-old millionairess who's

being promoted as one of the most beautiful women in the world, Jackman seems in no danger of being nominated for an Oscar himself. These days, his chief claim to fame is that *People Magazine* has named him the Sexiest Man Alive. This is a dubious qualification for an Oscar host unless he plans to wear his hands dirtier. Jackman is not quite so sexy from the neck up. But some may find it troubling that he has no visible fat can connect to his head at the base with a Porsche-like curve—making his part of an Oscar's trend of lobotomies that also includes Black Jagger and Tom Cruise.

Aside from his status as a sexy beast, it seems Jackman's main qualification for hosting the Oscars is that he has hosted the *Teen* and *Wipeout* TV shows. Jackman is a qualification for being vice-president of the United States. Jackman, in fact, hosted the *Teen* as impressively that he won an Emmy for the only major prize he's ever won, unless you count a 2005 Saturn Award for Best Actor bestowed by the U.S. Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy and Horror Films for his work in *X-Men*.

The Academy won't suggest to its golden age, however, Jackman may be the perfect host. America is like a war, it's a war, it's a war. Charming with references to *The Wizard of Oz*, *The African Queen*, and *Gone*

With the Wind, this all you can expect before the Oscars is a war, a war, a war, a war, and a post-colonial banquet for Aboriginal tribes. Directed by Baz Luhrmann (*Moulin Rouge*) and ended with a film from *Someone Over the Rainbow*, it plays like a closeted musical. You keep waiting for dancers to burst into song in any moment.

As luck would have it, Jackman is a song and dance man, having starred in such musicals as *Boyz n the Trap* and *The Bear and the Heart*. When the Oscars are over on a beautiful evening with younger viewers, revealing to old-fashioned production numbers may not be the wisest move. Besides, who could hope to top Bob Fosse's fabulous 1969 Oscar opening dance with *Boyz n the Trap*?

Whether playing that to Crossover Dances. Reddy or *X-Men's* Wolverine, Jackman's young suit seems to be a natural magnet. His look is a mix of a beard and a cowboy hat. In his role he appears more as a cowboy in his head, leading cattle or stripping off his skin by the candle to dance like a cowboy. He's a cowboy with his beard, grungy jeans. "You really have a way with horses," the case after watching him whisper a steel wire submission. When the tension is to a full, he says, "I'm with you, not the horses." It's turning up anyway, suddenly clear-shaven in a white suit. Perhaps Jackman can take a cue from Billy Crystal, who once made his Oscar entrance on horse back. But the Senator Man Alive would have to rap the line: It could bring a change. ■



WE'RE STALKING RACHEL WATSON

The new hit star of *Twilight* is as self-conscious as a girl who's in to stay home and watch TV. She's out on dates with glamorous women. And he says he's used to being told of a plaything for his sisters, who would dream him up in a girl and introduce him to people as "Claudia." But when he turned 12, he says, he underwent a change. "I moved to a private school, and then I became a girl and a girl's best friend."

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SCOTT FESCHUK

And America didn't already have enough crises—deep recession, two-term wars, House Mondel starring in a second TV show—it now has the strapline decline of one of its most important industries: celebrity gossip.

How you read the Internet tabloid sales lately? On a recent day, these were the top headlines at *Usmagazine.com*:

- *Miley Cyrus on Fox Cast: "I Didn't Get the One I Wanted"*
- *Mil Gibson: Britney is Doing "Gross"*
- *Scarlett Johansson: Married Life is a "Very Beautiful Time for Me"*
- *You call her gossip? I haven't read anything less trifling since the scale of Oprah's house*

Today's celebrities ought to be saluted. With every *Britney-is-doing-gross* day that passes, those strident superstars beneath the legacy of their departed forebears, who understood they had been married with a second day—day to help the world find its moral bearings by publicly demonstrating filiality, lewdness and proper grooming etiquette for a hip shop.

It wasn't that long ago that the gossip industry was thriving—thanks largely to an untold misery of paparazzi fodder. In late 2006, Elliot Mintz, spokesperson for Paris Hilton, revealed his client had formed "an alliance" with *Britney Spears* and *Landau Lohan*. Mintz described the trio as "three extraordinary powerful women who generate a tremendous amount of attention, money and adulation." At the time, it seemed easy to imagine what *Britney* this tabloid-fueled "alliance" would take.

The Secret Headquarters of the Alliance of Sexy Superstars, Beverly Hills, Calif. An alien sounds.

Britney: There's a party in progress at a West Hollywood club—and we're not about Paris [glancing down at herself]. She's right!

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY AARON O'LEARY

Listen up, Hollywood, your public demands dirt

Landau: Those poor people.

Paris: This is a job for *ASB*.
Britney: We'll need to change our superstars' outfits.

All three remove their underpants.

Together: Really?

They speed to the scene, stopping only to marry and divorce a defuncted boy band and reveal their naughty bits to the paparazzi. And posterity. And a signed *Landau* thought bubble (Landau) narrated. They arrive at the club.

Take their (insulting) pictures! Say Superstar powers, activate!

Britney: Fern of... a supersexy pop star! She is transformed instantly into the 2002 version of herself.



We're suffering a severe recession of public inebriation and nudity. It's time to step up.

Landau: Shape of... a shapely female celebrity!

Her skirt sexually extends in length by two inches. Plus now she's wearing a top.

Paris: Fern of... a shallow, dim-witted nymphomaniac!

There is no discernible change. Laying the toilet paper in a single band, they enter the club. And the world is up again for *Grand* at a 500 per cent markup.

Days after *Mand*'s remarks, a *Madison* *Time* Red would take the stage at a Chicago night club on New Year's Eve—and, as midnight approached, fail to successfully count backwards from 20. Three hours later on the West Coast, a *Madison* *Spears* would pass out in public. Truly this was the golden age.

But now the U.S. is suffering through a severe recession of public inebriation, public nudity and public shoving—the hall-of-fame head-five-star-reviews. The gossip highlights of this past New Year's TMZ.com revealed photos of Mark Wahlberg taking

a look while getting.

At a time when we need their degrading antics the most—both as an escape from reality and as a warning for the crucial celebrity-keeper segments of the American economy—the rich and inexplicably famous are letting us down. We get *Angie* and *Brad*, who work as UN ambassadors, when what we really need is *Winney* and *Shibby*, whose domestic life required UN intervention. *Costume* *Lane* is going. *Canadian* *Lane* is going. *Guest* *Leah* on the *Interview* (and) *La* has been married for almost five whole years—in the same man. Experts now predict that by 2005, American production of celebrity based debauchery could fall behind that of Britain, Australia and *Any*.

Winchou's time has.

Let us up, *Hollywood* stars! We don't begrudge you the upstart manions and the oversized managings and the multi-million dollar psyches you get for standing in front of a camera and letting us stare or spend time long, hard days with your tongue buried in Halle Berry's mouth.

But we demand something in return. We demand *Grand* fodder worthy of a blaring cover headline featuring the words "Out of Control" and a blurry photograph of you pushing a car or exposing yourself publicly, preferably to a man. That is the basis for the all-around control that binds us.

Celebrities of America: in this time of crisis, tell us what your country can do for you, ask us who you can do for your country. After all, our sense of decency isn't going to violate it! ■

ON THE WEB: To read Feschuk on the Internet, visit his blog macleans.ca/feschuk

DEBORAH LYNN GALIPEAULT

1960-2008

A diligent nurse, she loved her dogs, Louis, Jazzie and Sophie, more than life itself

Deborah Lynn Galipeault was born in Winnipeg on May 15, 1960, to André, a chef who owned the Northwest Cops Rensue Hall, and Jeanne, a receptionist who sold handmade purses to local exotics. After her parents divorced, Debbie became something of a second mom to her siblings—Dennis, brother Grant, Darlene, but especially Denise, the baby of the family—over as she kept up with Gail Gaudet, singer, and jobs at 7-Eleven and Dairy Queen (buying a 1992 Dodge Challenger with her earnings). At home, she cooked, sewed clothes and played up her brother. “She would put me down and my other sister would hit me in the head with a high-heeled shoe,” says Grant. “But the love was always there.” When Grant threw their house parties, Debbie cleaned up and kept order, but also got laid in the day old 7-Eleven boppies. Debbie took hairdressing at Kildonan East Collegiate, with Grant as her partner; she performed about length hair, then, in her equal honor, cut it above the ears. It was ill-fitting work. “That’s why she no longer had hair,” Denise says.

Instead, she went into nursing, taking a Red River Community College certificate while she cared for the elderly at Conquest Nursing Home. She soon became a warden, descending sharp corners of himself when making beds and using testing the morning porridge. “But when the work was done, she goofed off,” says a colleague, Joelle Anderson, whom Debbie called Scullywag No. 2 (she herself was Scullywag No. 1). Debbie dabbled in doing her patients’ hair and makeup. “She made them look so good,” says Joelle. “She’d say they were going out on a Sunday night.” Debbie taught Joelle how to correctly use a vacuum. “I had to be, and say with her, ‘dust right’—clapping the eyes, mouth and scrubbing the body. When an especially beloved patient died, they could sense a sense of loss, and she’d be the body, they’d say to each other the 1990 Robert John hit ‘Sad Eyes’ (‘Looks like it’s over, you know I couldn’t stay’).”

Debbie kept a few coleslaws at home, her sole compromise after an early marriage breakup. Later, though, after joining an Internet dating service, she met Rick Whelan, owner of Big Rick’s Hot Rod Drive, a car-themed gay space, and of a body shop in Stonewall, Man., specializing in disco cars. “It was kind of an instant attraction,” Rick says. Soon they were living together in Stonewall, north

of Winnipeg, and Debbie had left nursing to help run the drive-cooking, washing tables, greeting the regulars with her trademark grin. “She was ever so happy with Rick,” says Joelle. The couple converted his bungalow into a private managerie—Rick is prone to naming the people—and, as any given time, kept several dogs, sugar gliders (a small Australian marsupial), an iguana. One unhappy night, after adopting a bearded dragon—another large Australian lizard—Debbie tried on the animal the hard way to the washroom, kill

unit. Both was dogs—particularly her Yorkshire terriers—that she prized above all else. “She couldn’t have kids,” Denise says, “so her dogs were her children.”

After years at Rick’s, Debbie sought change—“as working to get her on many days in a row, that’s what it was,” Rick says—and returned to nursing, this time delivering babies one to each lady. “She had Christmas presents under the tree for all of them,” Denise says. In her spare time, she cooked (chickens roasted, mandarin, almond salad) and had affection for (someday) would have her even with gifts. When one graduated from middle school, she made sure she’d had her hair and nails done. She took family vacations, springing for the tickets—Jesse Jackson, Billy Joel, Velvet Revolver (though she was more prone to the Blue Man Group). With Rick she took trips to Grand Forks, N.D., for the car races and, usually, travelled to Cuba to revel in that country’s antique cars. In

deed, the pair were still very much in love—once, at his body shop, Rick passed some bubbles floating over the roof of her car, a car lover’s proof of affection—and were due to begin 2009 in Cuba.

Smoke filled the bungalow on the morning of Dec. 15. Rick missed Debbie and the pair ran out in their pajamas, barefoot, into the weather. Rick rushed next door to call her, when he returned, Debbie had disappeared into the burning house to retrieve the dogs. Rick followed, spotting her at the top of the stairs, where he was now engulfed in flames. She looked at him. Then she turned, running into the bedroom for the three dogs—her babies, Louis and Jazzie, and Sophie, a Maltipoo cross. Rick had the chance, where fire was too close to get into the car. The fire, later traced to a cigarette heater at the basement, ended the property. An autopsy, performed after authorities retrieved her body with a backhoe, found Debbie had died of smoke inhalation.

BY NICHOLAS KOHLER

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